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# The Christian East

## EDITORIAL.

### SMITING THE SHEPHERDS.

TO scatter the sheep, smite the shepherd. That is a common-sense maxim which has always appealed, though most often without success, to the persecutors of the Church. Its validity is now being put to a drastic and bitter test by the enemies of Eastern Christianity.

#### THE SOVIET WAR ON RELIGION.

There has been no doubt these four years past about the Bolsheviks' prime objective, no doubt these twelve months past about their method of reaching it. As to neither, is it possible to say that any of the famous Seven Persecutions undergone by the Church under Heathendom was as direct or as thorough. From the day that Soviet Rule established itself at Moscow, its mind has been plain. There is a Communism which at least believes itself to be the embodiment of Christianity. Call it as wrong-headed as you please. You are able to respect its professors. There is also a Communism which, though impatient of all forms of organised religion, is prepared and is sometimes eager to be tolerant with the toleration of indifference—towards religion itself. But the thing which calls itself Communism, and which, with a sudden spring, seized Russia by the throat in the hour of her exhaustion, and has since kept its stranglehold by means of Tartar and Chinese mercenaries, hates Religion with hatred inexpressible. Those who, in the old pre-war days, knew the Marble Arch and the strange beings which congregated at its platforms, will remember a Russian Communist who used to speak there at times, his mouth literally frothing as he denounced Religion of every kind, and declared that no death could be too cruel for its teachers. The listeners always laughed amusedly. The man was taken as a freak. In fact, he was a representative of that type of revolutionary which we now know as a Bolshevik—of the utterly disgruntled, of the renegade Jew eager for his revenge, of the perverted idealist, of the man with a taste for blood and looking for a revolution in which to gratify it. Once the Bolshevik made himself at home in Moscow, he was open enough in speech as to what he meant to do. His policy, as his principles, were those of our friend of Hyde Park. To smash the existing social and economic fabric of society

into smithereens was the necessary preliminary for its reconstitution on ideal Communist lines. But a real *tabula rasa* could not be obtained and would not, in itself, be worth obtaining, unless or until Religion in its widest sense had been eradicated. Haeckel was *the* prophet rather than Karl Marx. The Orthodox Church, and every Church, had, indeed, to be destroyed, but to abolish institutions would be nothing gained except as a step towards the ultimate business of getting rid of Christian ethics and Christian morals of every kind and of refounding human life upon a basis of pure naturalism. "Adultery is not sin" became the horrid and crude but acid test of true Bolshevik Communism. The programme was, of course, no more than the programme of the inner circle, of the motley band which had grasped the steering-wheel of the machine and which, if it had dared, would have shown itself the perfect exponent of Thorough. There were two bodies of opinion, however, of which the shrewd masters of the Soviet were—as, indeed, they remain—quite afraid. The first was the Western proletariat which even if it sings the Red Flag, is possessed neither by red lust for Catastrophic Revolution nor by red hatred of Religion. The second was the Russian people itself, which, though bemused and stupefied by the swift leap of the Bolshevik Old Man of the Sea, still has ample strength to throw him off and believes in the categories of the Christian Religion as it believes in the solid earth and the sun. To hoodwink these, lip-service had to be done to toleration. It was declared, with a wink, that so long as they did not oppose—an elastic term—the Revolution, individuals might practise Religion. At the same time, Naturalistic Atheism was established as the legal Creed in Russia and no effort was spared to make it paramount. Thus it has been taught in the schools—where teachers have been found who would teach it. Its profession has been made the condition of work—and food. An ample and vigorous press has been devoted to its propaganda, no printed rejoinder being permitted. And so on.

### Open Attack.

*Parturiunt montes!* The issue of all that labour has been ridiculous. To do him justice, the thorough Bolshevik never imagined that it would be otherwise. His belief is not in positive teaching but in negative violence. Where was the sense in writing, "Religion is the opiate of the people" on a Kremlin gate, when the readers only bowed the more reverently to the Eikon over against the inscription? Since there was no argument which could break the defence of Religion, other instruments must be employed. One with the recommendation of congeniality, but which is proving ineffective, offered itself in sheer scurrility. Its exercise is exemplified by the silly, if offensive, blasphemous parodies—such as those of last Christmas and Easter—in street processions of organised bands of hobbledehoys and roughs whom, like the Bandurlog of the *Jungle Book*, it is a mistake to notice, or by the always ugly and, at times, physically nauseating *Bezbojdneek*, a sort of unrestrained, illustrated *Freethinker*, which the Soviet patronises and distributes

gratis in the Moscow schools and factories. The principal instruments, however, on which the brains of Bolshevism have relied, have been persistent, grinding, remorseless repression and persecution. In applying these they have at times been open. Thus there is no ambiguity about Article 211 of their Criminal Code of last year, which just says :—

> "The teaching of religious beliefs in State or private educational establishments and schools, to children of tender age and to minors, is punishable by forced labour for a period not exceeding one year.'

That Article has been construed by officials of many local Soviets to prohibit the religious teaching of children by any except their immediate relatives ; but without such straining it forbids, categorically Church schools, and it was under it that Fr. Juniewicz, one of Archbishop Ciepliak's priests, was condemned at the recent notorious "trial."

For the most part, however, the Bolsheviks have been careful either to provide themselves with a pretence that their persecutions were directed against counter-revolutionary activity rather than Religion, or to act clandestinely. In this way, though with continually increasing difficulty, those abroad who willed to find excuse for them have been able to do so. Thus they made skilful use of the famine last year in order to demand of the ministers of all Religions things of next to no intrinsic value, but which could not be conscientiously surrendered to them.

### Secret Judicial Murder.

That is one side of the picture, the side for publicity. On the other, there has been the consistent practice of clandestine judicial assassination. Thus the Soviet's agents dared to butcher the noble Tsar Nicholas in the privacy of a Siberian town, and with him his whole family, down to the child Tsarevitch. That villainous inhumanity was of a piece with innumerable and unrecorded brutal deeds of blood—some simply wanton, others deliberate—in which, throughout the great length and breadth of Russia, an unrestrained political Atheism of the Bolshevik variety has revelled in the past five years. Here it was a simple peasant, an artisan or a village priest that was done atrociously to death, there a general, a grand duke or a bishop. Only last autumn, according to the *Belgrad Novoye Vremya*, the Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd, a saint beloved and venerated only less than John of Cronstadt, was put to a mock trial, spirited away from his people by night, taken secretly to Moscow, drugged out of consciousness, shaved of his hair and beard, dressed in rags and shot in the Cheka's blood cellar as an "unknown criminal."[1] But in all that the thorough Bolshevik acted with wary and smug hypocrisy. If he slaked his thirst for atrocity he had the sense to act with circumspection.

[1] Mr. Ronald McNeill confirmed this judicial murder in the House of Commons on April 17th. No report of the "trial" appears to have been published. Over 1,000 other clergy have been "executed" in like fashion.

### The Orthodox Church.

It is true that, as witness the recent heaviness of its hand upon the Jews the Latins, the Baptists, etc.,[1] Bolshevism is frenzied with indiscriminate hatred of every form of Religion. Buddha and Mahommed have been the objects of its blasphemy only less than Christ. But, from the first, it has always envisaged the Orthodox Church as the one serious Russian force with which it had to reckon. Except for those of the Latin rite, who are Poles or Ruthenians and not Russians, the Pope's subjects in Russia are a negligible quantity. Of the so-called Raskolniks or Schismatics, a large section is in no sense Protestant, but holds itself and desires to be truly Orthodox with the greatest intensity. To the vast preponderance of the Russian nation the Orthodox Church is not an institution. It is simply a characteristic of the Divine Order, a necessary condition of human life as the air is a necessary condition of animal life, so obvious as to be accepted axiomatically. Essential to the success of Bolshevism though the destruction of Christianity is, a frontal attack on the Orthodox Church was too perilous an adventure for the Soviet in its early days. That is the explanation of paradoxical scenes such as that in which, at Easter, 1919, the Red Guards, blaspheming one minute, fell the next on their knees outside the Yspensky Sobor to ask the Patriarch Tikhon's blessing. Some Russians, in contrast with Jews and nondescripts, may have donned the Soviet's badge, may even shout its catchwords and imagine themselves to mean them. But their apostasy is on the surface; in a crisis they are always liable to come to their senses, to reassert their old selves and to turn against their employers. It would be dangerous to use them as weapons of offence against the Orthodox Church. The only thing to do was to try the subtler method of disintegrating it. Now, whatever Absolutism it may tolerate in the political sphere, the Orthodox world is essentially democratic in the ecclesiastical, and, in 1917, the Russian Church had reasserted the democratic principle in her constitution, so far as it had been obscured under the Tsars. From the Parish Council and the Diocesan Synod, up to the National Synod, she is equipped with a perfect system of assemblies, elected on a democratic basis.

It seemed easy for the strong, astute and unscrupulous Central Soviet to throw that machinery out of gear without showing its hand. All that had to be done was to make clever demands upon the rulers of the Church which, if refused, would lay them open to the charge of counter-revolutionary activity, and which, whether accepted or rejected, might split the clergy and the laity into warring factions. Well-timed material support of a complaisant bishop, or of an eccentric minority, would place either in control of the machine and would produce strife and confusion. *Divide et concide.* Once its solidarity was broken, the Russian Church would be at the mercy of its enemy. The artichoke could thus be eaten leaf by leaf.

[1] The *Daily Herald* tried to persuade Dr. Clifford that the Stundists (Baptists) are escaping persecution because they are anti-hieratical. Dr. Rushbrooke, however, gave ample evidence of their gross ill-usage by the Soviets in the *Daily News* of April, 27th.

### The Patriarch Tikhon.[1]

That proposition, which seemed to present no difficulty to the malevolence which devised it, has been foiled hitherto by the magnificent courage and simple straightforwardness of a single man. Elsewhere in this number we give an appreciation of the career and character of the Patriarch Tikhon. It will be enough to say here that, while he abstained from political action, he refused altogether to become the Soviet's tool. Whenever he could comply with their demands, he did so. When he could not, he rejected them with firm finality. An Orthodox Patriarch is not a Pope, but nothing can be done canonically, *i.e.*, constitutionally, in his Church without him, and the one thing which the Soviet did not dare to risk was the open violation of the constitution of the Russian Church. There are few more dramatic episodes in history than the long struggle in which, since 1917, by moral dignity and the sanctity of his office, a single old man has proved a match for the whole furious force of triumphant Bolshevism. If he had wavered for a moment, the Russian Church, and with it Religion in Russia, humanly speaking, would have been lost. What to do with the Patriarch Tikhon became the pressing problem of the Soviet.

### The Patriarch's Arrest.

The famine in 1921–22 seemed to give promise of its solution. The Soviet promulgated a law confiscating the "treasures" of the Church for relief purposes and demanded that the Patriarch should order their handing over to it. If he bade his people strip the shrines of the dead and hand over the Communion Vessels at the bidding of the atheist Bolshevist, he would bitterly wound the piety of his people. If he refused, there is a crude tradition everywhere which is prone to cry out upon sacerdotal avarice. The ground was well chosen. Tikhon answered by offering to sanction the disposal of everything of real intrinsic value provided that there should be security that the proceeds were spent on relief and not embezzled or squandered on armaments and the like. For propaganda, however, the issue was sufficiently confused. The Soviet Press, which is, of course, the only press allowed in Russia, shrieked that the Patriarch preferred to see the nation starve than part with his wealth. No one really believed the lie, but in Western Europe and in Russia itself the end was served. When, in May, 1922, the Soviet risked arresting the Patriarch, there was indignation and alarm, but no outbreak of vocal protest or resistance. Indeed, what had happened was hardly understood, the arrest being explained as no more than a "placing under restraint" and only by degrees being developed into isolated and rigorous incarceration.

### The Living Church.

With its chief obstacle, not removed, but reduced to silence, the Soviet proceeded to the next stage in its plan. There had been got together, in various fashions, a certain number of clergy who accepted

[1] For his Pastoral see page 98.

the Soviet administration more or less wholeheartedly, and were ready to be its facile instruments. These were formed into a group and assumed the title, "The Living Church," each person adhering to it being registered on making his submission to Bolshevism. Since the arrest of the Patriarch Tikhon, Bishop Antonin and the priest Vedensky, who are at its head, and have at their disposal the full power of the Soviet, have shown the greatest vigour in removing bishops and priests who rejected them and in filling their places arbitrarily with others more pliable. At the present time, preparation is being made to submit to every member of the Russian Clergy the alternative between signing its programme of doctrinal reform and exile, imprisonment, or the like. The roll of the Living Church is insignificant in number, but its violent possession of the temporal side of the ecclesiastical machine and the programme which it enforces are held to give great promise of throwing the Russian Church into the desiderated confusion and strife—in short, of securing its disintegration. That programme runs :—

1. Revival of evangelical primitive Christian Doctrine with definite development of teaching as to the human nature of Christ the Saviour, and a struggle with the scholastic perversions of Christianity.
2. Development of Christian teaching about God as the source of Justice, Love and Mercy, in counteraction to the ancient Hebrew conception of God as the stern Inquisitor and Avenger of sinners.
3. Development of teaching as to the origin of the world from the creative Divine Will with the participation of the productive forces of Nature.
4. Development of teaching as to man as the crown and comble of the wise acts of creative forces of Nature.
5. Development of teaching as to salvation, as the reassertion by the Love of the Cross of the Sonship of man towards God.
6. The Church of Christ as a divine-human society for the establishment on earth of Divine Justice.
7. Eternity as the organic development and comble of the moral system of human individuality.
8. The Last Judgment, Heaven and Hell as moral concepts.

A glance at that programme will convince anyone who knows Russia of its subtlety. To us in England, where a jejune Modernism loves to be extreme, it reads innocuous enough. But there is nothing modernistic about it. Whatever appeal it has is addressed to two types of the Russian mind. The one we regret—anti-Semitism ; the other we love—Mystic Revivalism. There is none of the dryness of our Western materialistic rationalism in the ordinary Russian Christian. His critics say that he is centuries behind the age and altogether other-worldly. In fact, he lives in a world in which revelation is paramount, and under a supernatural dispensation inaugurated by Christ. He has no doubt that if men were true to the letter of the Gospel then the Kingdom of God would possess the earth. Moreover, he is an intensely High Churchman. He does not regard the Church as an institution, but as a divine brotherhood, an organism of faith and love. In view, therefore, of the miseries and sins of humanity, he is at all times ready to ask whether the Gospel has not been obscured, and this dissatisfaction, not with the natural ills of the world but with its spiritual ills and with

himself, leads him first to conclude that something is wrong and then to seek the remedy in re-discovering the changeless and complete revelation which, if appropriated and obeyed, must bring happiness and peace. That is the explanation of those groups of almost illiterate peasants so often described to us as arguing solemnly and eagerly over a single New Testament text. And that is how Tolstoi—poor Tolstoi who died flying in his old age to a monastery from the rising storm which he had sown—was able to appeal to a vast number of the Russian people. It was not his crude mid-Victorian scepticism which made his writings the propædeutic for Bolshevism, but rather his insistent dogmatic harping on isolated texts in the Sermon on the Mount which put men into two minds and made them wonder whether all government systems, maintained, as they are, by "the resistance of evil with force," are not inconsistent with the one and only permanent Evangel and a reversion to Judaism. Therein lies the artfulness of the Living Church programme. Its appeal is clever. In any case, a few simple peasants will catch at the opening-word, "Revival"; a few city people, after the fashion of the ordinary materialistic *intelligentsia*, will say, without the least will to be satisfied, "That's it: give us a religion an intelligent man *can* adopt." But for all that, it is plainly doomed to be abortive except and unless it can be imposed on the Russian nation in a form which bears the semblance of being canonical. It is that fact which explains the recent fury of the Soviet against the Patriarch Tikhon. He is the keystone of the Arch. Once he were dislodged, there would be a prospect of breaking up the whole fabric of Orthodoxy. Whilst he is there, though he be silenced and interned in the most severe solitude, nothing can be done.

### The Triple Mind.

The residual problem of Bolshevism, therefore, stands unchanged. The Shepherd must be smitten or the sheep cannot be scattered; but at all costs the motive for his smiting must be veiled with a fair excuse from both his flock and the outer world. The first method of doing that is the method which the out-and-out men are pressing. "Try him," they urge, "as a political criminal, an opponent of the Revolution. Condemn him and shoot him out of hand." "That is unwise," say the subtler heads of the Living Church. "Give him over to us. We will convene a National Synod of the Russian Church. Help us to pack a majority. We will try him under the Canon which forbids political action on a bishop's part. We will condemn him and degrade him from the Ministry. We will choose a new Patriarch. Then it will be safe for you to do with him what you choose." "Better let him die quietly and quickly in prison," is the third and subtlest counsel. "He is old, half-blind and broken by malnutrition and the rigours which he is undergoing. Increase his hardship and the problem will solve itself."

For at least the last five months the corporate Soviet mind has wavered between these three expedients.

### Judicial Murder.

The proposed State trial of the Patriarch is the darling project of the "extreme" men who are eager to break with the Western Proletariat, to provoke risings in Russia and to plunge into stark unbridled Terrorism. Whatever stomach the more moderate men, such as Troitsky, ever had for it, is gone. Lenin—Ilyitch—that strange mixture of fanaticism and worldly wisdom, the dictator who held them altogether, the one Soviet leader whose name—for he, at least, is bone of the people's bone—has magic in Russia, is dying. When the house is insecure from within and may break at any moment with a crash, why set the ground trembling? Moreover, they hope to transmute their rule into a bourgeois-communist republic. Renegade Jews that they are for the most part, their persistent bitter bloody harrying of their own kith and kin is a sop to Russian anti-Semitism and an indulgence of the unrestrainable rancour proper to apostates. When they condemned Archbishop Ciepliak and shot his coadjutor Budkiewicz, they had nothing to fear in Russia where, as a Pole, the Latin is a foreigner. In that atrocity they were feeling the pulse of Western Europe. If, in the House of Commons, the indignation with which British Labour received its news left the one communist of their brand pale and shaking, would the Patriarch Tikhon's murder leave them the shadow of a chance of obtaining that British recognition which is vital to them?

### An Ecclesiastical Trial.

If, one day, the Soviet fixes a date for a State trial and the next postpones it, the plan of an Ecclesiastical trial, though easy of execution, does not command greater confidence for its result. A national Synod has, indeed, been convened and by the simple method of summoning only those who are pledged in writing to the Living Church, its unanimity appears secured. But even so a paper majority is not always reliable. Conscience *is* a force. No Synod can try its Patriarch in enforced absence. When Tikhon stands before "the Living Church" who can guarantee its action? Moreover, Orthodox Canon Law demands that a Patriarch must be tried by thirty of his fellow-bishops and that the indictment be clear. When can the former be found? and how can the latter be framed? Also, there are other Orthodox Churches. That brave man, Meletios of Constantinople, may take the lead, even to his own personal danger, and, with his brother chief bishops of the Autocephalous Churches, denounce the villainous farce.[1] What chance of being received in Russia has a sentence so given by any except the exiguous group of the Living Church? "That is folly. Rally Atheism. Defy opinion. Risk everything. Give him a State trial and shoot him," say the men who voice the Terror, and the Soviet wavers between the two.

### Secret Murder.

"Both are folly," says the third mind. "The job is nearly done. Tighten your hand and let him die in prison—naturally." But it is

[1] Since this was written he has done so.

common sense that there is no less risk in that counsel than in the other two. Ominous rumour has long been abroad in Russia. The Patriarch martyred by secret bloodless malice might prove stronger than if the world were told that a bullet had been used.

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And so the Soviet lets "I dare not" wait upon "I would." To forecast the decision of its wavering mind is impossible. But whether, or however, it summons courage to murder him, single, helpless, nearly blind, starved, broken in body and mind though he be, the Patriarch Tikhon has them beaten. It is whispered through Russia that last month the streets were lined with troops as they were never lined in the old days when the Tsar passed by, and he was led to the Court of Soviet Justice. There Krylenko, the Jew prosecutor, asked him to choose a Bolshevik for his defence. "You have sentenced me in mind before you have named my offence," was the answer. "I will not plead before such a court as yours. Christ will defend me." "Soviet Russia is ignorant of his existence," laughed the Atheist. *One of the guards crossed himself and was shot at the drumhead for his pains.* The tale is probably—certainly, if you will—imaginary. What matters is that the Russian is ready to believe it to be true.

His people hold Tikhon no criminal, but a sublime Confessor who has held them fast to their Faith. *In hoc signo vinces.* The persecutor may smite the shepherd, but he will not scatter the sheep.

### The Georgian Catholicos.

What the Bolshevik is doing in Russia, he hankers to do everywhere. He is not strong enough to impose his Soviet rule on his Western neighbours, but unhappy little Georgia, which has so often felt the iron heel of Mongols and Moslems such as Timur, Genghis Khan and the Shahs, and which only escaped from a century of Russification in 1917, is at his mercy. Therefore he is indulging himself there to the full—not openly, of course, but by means of the puppet Soviet which he has installed by his bayonets. The frontier is closed to foreign communication. None the less, news comes through and shows that a Soviet war is being waged on Religion. Churches are shut and desecrated, schools are closed, hundreds of priests[1] arrested. The daily batch of clergy and laity executed is often over 100. In Georgia, also, the policy is the same: Smite the shepherd. The Catholicos Ambrosios[2] and with him the Metropolitan of Kutania and other bishops are in prison, *Usque tandem?*

### The Œcumenical Patriarch.

The tense interest of the struggle at Moscow must not make us forget what is happening by the Bosphorus. That the Patriarch Tikhon holds fast in isolation and under fiendish privations, betokens that unbreakable will which is alone born of Faith. We doubt whether the same quality is not manifested in an even greater degree by the calm courage with

[1] All the bishops and 80 per cent. of the other clergy, on the latest advices.

[2] His "Bitter Cry" will be found on page 99.

which the Patriarch Meletios has remained, against every advice, at his post, and, as though under normal circumstances, has carried on the affairs of the Patriarchate these past eight months. The fact is beyond dispute that, since Mudania, a handful of the triumphant fanatics who worked their will at Smyrna and have been admitted into Constantinople might have butchered him any day as they butchered the Martyr Chrysostom. Every night that he lays his head upon his pillow he knows that the next sun may be his last. Moreover, as he goes serenely and unflinchingly about the little tasks of each day, he cannot forget that the hour is approaching inexorably when the Kemalist, who is set no less than the Bolshevik to eradicate Christianity, will be given free possession of Constantinople. What will happen then?

### Lausanne.

The Great Betrayal has been made. America, which once talked so finely, has stood sullenly aside and pouted for the oil wells of Mesopotamia. She has got her Chester concession. May the thirty pieces of silver do her good! France, with her eye always eager for the Ruhr and the Rhine, has utilised the policy of Franklin-Bouillon, Pierre Loti and Michel d'Herbigny of the Pontificio Instituto Orientale at Rome and has given the Kemalists a free hand. It seems that she will not be paid the price of her dishonour. Great Britain has watched, impotent as a man paralysed, by her domestic party intrigues and the vapourings of second-rate journals such as the *Daily Mail*. When the sorry history of the Lausanne Conference comes to be written, it will place one man alone, the Patriarch Meletios, in the category of the sublime, and it will leave the American, the Frenchman and the Britisher ashamed. Mark you, the problem of the Kemalist differs from that of the Bolshevik in this. In Russia the whole nation remains, and is, overwhelmingly Christian and Orthodox. In the land over which Ghazi Mustapha Kemal rules, the Christian has been almost extirpated. Two nations, the great majority on the soil, the Armenian and the Greek, as witness even Mr. H. N. Brailsford, have been murdered out of hand. For the Moslem in Turkey, the problem is not how to scatter the flock by smiting the shepherd but by smiting the shepherd to obliterate the last vestige of the existence of the flock. When Mr. Ryan, the first dragoman of the British Embassy at Constantinople, as a Roman Catholic not understanding the constitution of the Orthodox Church, suggested to Ismet, who announced the forthcoming expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople, that it should remain but should be deprived of direct jurisdiction in the City, when Lord Curzon intervened and declared that it should remain there in the plenitude of its spiritual functions, and when Ismet did lip-service to that ultimatum, we thought the matter settled—so far as paper could settle it. But if you read through the Blue Book on Lausanne, except for a bowdlerised version of that debate in the protocol, you will find no mention of the future of the Patriarchate. The draft of the Treaty itself has not a word to say about it. No guarantee is outlined as to the immunibility of the Patriarch and his household, as to his right of unrestrained intercourse

with other Churches, as to the exercise of his pastoral jurisdiction, as to the freedom of his election and so forth. All is left to the discretion and the goodwill of the Turk. The betrayal is complete.

### The Patriarch Meletios.

As it is with the Patriarch of Russia, so it is with the Œcumenical Patriarch. "Resign," urges the Defeatist. "Turn Uniate, secure the backing of the Vatican, and so of France and Italy," whispers the coward. But Meletios IV. has one answer. He will descend from his throne to-morrow if the free election and the freedom of his successor be guaranteed. He will never make a union, false as that of Ferrara-Florence. When he reached the Phanar in January, 1922, he knelt before the Eikon of Gregory V. at the Closed Door, and prayed for grace, if need be, to follow that martyr humbly. The entry of Mustapha Kemal to Constantinople will find him waiting on the Throne of St. John Chrysostom.

### Smiting the Shepherds.

The Blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church. In these later days, in the persons of Tikhon and Meletios IV., God has raised up men who are no hirelings, but will lay down their lives for the sheep. To human eyes the immediate issue may be uncertain, but for those who have Faith good must be born of evil. The persecutors, the Atheist Bolshevik and the Moslem Turk, may smite the shepherd, but in so doing they will not scatter—they will rally—the flock.

## THE PATRIARCH TIKHON.

### By FATHER A. ROJDESTVENSKY.

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## PRAYER FOR THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND FOR THE PATRIARCH TIKON.

O LORD and King of bounty, look down from the height of Thy throne upon the Russian Orthodox Church and on her Chief, and, like as Peter was delivered unharmed from chains and prison, Joseph and Manasseh were freed from bondage, so now preserve unhurt the Chief Pastor of Russia, Tikhon, the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia; strengthen him by the grace of Thine All-protecting Holy Spirit, and save him for the good of the Church and land.

Enlighten with the knowledge of Thy truth the sons of the Russian people who have gone astray, calm their proud and evil hearts and turn them to truth, peace and love.

Merciful Lord, forsake us not, accept our prayers, forgive the sins and offences of Thy servants and have mercy upon them, that delivered from evil and affliction we may again rejoice in Thee, O

Lord, our Deliverer, and may glory in the greatness of Thy name, Father and Son, and Holy Spirit.—Amen.

## PRAYER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY FOR THE PATRIACH TIKHON.

O BLESSED Lord, who didst say to Thy disciples that if the shepherd is smitten the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad, have mercy upon Thy servant Tikhon, Patriarch of All Russia; save and defend him from the hand of the enemy; protect his people in hours of darkness and give them peace; for Thy mercy's sake, who lovest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever One God, world without end.—Amen.

THE troubled sea of Russia is still seething. Ruined and overthrown are the former props of the life of the State. But as in the flood, the Ark, protected by God, rose upon the stormy waters, so in Russia, among the ruins of its former greatness, the ship of the Orthodox Church bides unwrecked, directed by the firm hand of her spiritual pilot, the Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow and All Russia. This simple man, so easy of approach and mild in manner, has proved to be a true hero in his responsible post, and with invincible firmness withstands all the stress of the angry waves breaking over the ship of the Russian Church.

I remember the present Patriarch when he was a youth and was studying in the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Pokov, from 1878–1883. He was born at Toropets in the Government of Pokov, where his father was a priest to the end of his life. The town was remarkable for being like Moscow, in the unusual number of its churches; in the little town there were churches at every step, old and fine. It has also its local relic, the ancient icon of our Lady of Korsun, mentioned in the Russian Chronicle from the earliest times of Christianity in Russia.[1] The life of the place was very patriarchal, preserving many of the features of ancient Russian custom; the nearest railway was then 150 miles from Toropets.

The influence of the character of family and place told on the young Basil Ivanovich Bellavin, a modest seminarist, known for his religious, affectionate and agreeable character. He was rather tall and fair. The people of the place were fond of him, and together with their liking there was always a feeling of respect on account of his steadfast though unaffected piety, his brilliant success in his studies and his constant readiness to help his comrades who always applied to him for explanations in their lessons, and especially for

[1] This icon was sent from Tsargrad (Constantinople) by the Emperor to his relative, the Princess of Polotsk, who later became St. Euphrosyne, and was sent by her to Toropets for the wedding of her nephew, later St. Alexander Nevsky. (Trans.)

help in writing, and for the correction of the many compositions required of them. In this the young Bellavin even took pleasure gladly and with many a joke, although with a serious mien occupying himself with his comrades who, singly or in groups, listened to his explanations. It is curious that his fellows in the Seminary playfully called him "Bishop."

In the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy I joined B. I. Bellavin in the third year. Although in the Academy it was not usual to give nicknames, his fellow students who were very fond of the friendly and quietly religious youth, already called him "Patriarch." Later when he became the first Patriarch in Russia for 200 years, his friends of the Academy frequently recalled this prophetic nickname.

Here in the Academy Basil Ivanovich was again a general favourite. This was particularly evident on one occasion when he was on the last course. There was in the Academy a Student's Library, maintained on means provided by the students themselves in contributions, by the sale of books and other objects presented, small gifts from outsiders and so forth. Periodicals and newspapers were partly sent gratis, partly subscribed for and chosen by the students. Books were also purchased by their wish, without the control of the authorities, although the contents of the library were well-known to the latter. And as there was a fine, large library belonging to the Academy consisting principally of books of a religious character, it was natural that for the students' library chiefly secular books should be chosen, belles lettres, etc., which were not in the Academy library; "forbidden"[1] books also found their way there. The librarian was one of the students, elected by themselves. It happened that once the student-librarian was dismissed by the authorities as not being "dependable" (politically), and the students protested against this by refusing to choose anyone except the one who was disapproved. Then the Rector of the Academy, Bishop Anthony, later Metropolitan of Petrograd, appointed B.I. Bellavin librarian. The manœuvre was completely successful: the popularity of Bellavin among the students was so great that no one cared to protest against the infringement of their rights, and he was accepted by the students. Usually those who intended to pursue an Ecclesiastical Academical career entered Religion while still at the Academy on the fourth course, and those who stood in need of special protection in passing from one course to the next took this step even while on the first or second course. B. I. Bellavin completed his studies as a secular student and was appointed to his native Seminary of Pokov as master of theology.

[1] Such as were not passed by the Censure Office and were obtained contraband. (Trans.)

His pupils in the Seminary well remember the young teacher, very different from others in his great interest in his work, friendly attention to the needs of the pupils and his helpful support in their conflicts with the authorities. Other teachers were cold formalists, treating the students like disorderly Seminarists, only expected to know "from her to here," and to behave like "calm water and lowly herb." I have often met pupils of Bellavin and they all had the happiest memories of him. He dwelt modestly in patriarchal Pokov, in the upper storey of a little wooden house in a quiet side-street near the Church of "Nicholas of the dry place" (many old names were preserved there), and did not hold aloof from friendly company. And till now he likes to recall his Pokov friends, converse with whom was restful to him in leisure hours.

But now unexpected news was spread: the young teacher had given in a petition to the Bishop about entering Religion and he was soon to receive the tonsure. Bishop Hermogen, a kind and wise old man, appointed the profession in the Seminary Church and for this right, seldom seen in a government town and in the case of a man whom many knew so well, the whole town assembled. It was doubted whether the floor would bear the weight of the people who gathered (the Church was on the second storey of the building) and it appears that for this occasion props were placed to support the ceiling of the lower storey. Some of those present remember with how much feeling and with what conviction the young monk answered to the questions of the Bishop concerning the vows he was taking: "Yea, God being my helper." Naturally, as is always the case, many wept. But he professed himself with full consciousness and determination, entered on the new life, evidently considering himself not disposed for family duties and desiring to consecrate himself entirely to the service of the Church.

After his profession the service of the "learned monk"[1] continued on the firmly established lines: at first, administrative duties in an ecclesiastical scholastic establishment and then the See of a Vicar Bishop of a Diocesan, and so on. The Priest-monk Tikhon, as B. I. Bellavin was named in Religion, soon received promotion, first as Inspector, and then as Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Kholm (in the town of Lynblori) was consecrated Bishop of Lynblori—a Vicariate of the diocese of Kholm, and there, as being an absolutely reliable man, experienced in administrative service, was appointed to the responsible Episcopal see in the United States of America. I remember with what anxiety the young Bishop set out for the distant land, together with his younger brother, a delicate youth, leaving his dearly loved old mother in the Government of Pokov—his father was no longer living. His

[1] A special category. (Trans.)

brother died in the arms of the Right Rev. Tikhon, in spite of the care bestowed upon him in far-off America, and only his body was brought back to his native Toropets, where the old mother was still living. Soon after, on her death, there were left none of the relatives of the present Patriarch.

A fairly lengthy residence in America gave scope for the pastoral-administrative talent of the Right Rev. Tikhon as applied to new and entirely strange conditions.

The circumstance and activities of a Russian Bishop in America were quite peculiar. The Russian parishes there were scattered in various towns not only in the States, but also in distant Alaska and the Aleutian Islands—his Lordship went there also and saw with his own eyes these Orthodox half-savages who kept their own faith and customs in the foreign conditions of American State order. Side by side with the Russians in America there live also many Galatians, partially Uniats, and many Orthodox Syrians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks; it is needful to steer wisely among the relations of various Churches and peoples, not encroaching on the principles of any. And the Russian clergy in the conditions of American life have involuntarily to adapt themselves to them, which is especially difficult for Religions. The complete liberty of conscience, freedom of speech and equality in mutual relations, the commercial spirit of Americans—was all unaccustomed to a Russian entering the American whirlpool from a quiet, monastic cell. But the inborn tact of Bishop Tikhon, his capacity for understanding strange ways, and his friendly attitude towards others helped him also in America to attune to Church life to the right key, to inspire in his clergy zeal for the work and to preserve among them entire peace and agreement. The rule of the Right Rev. Tikhon left deep traces in the life of the Orthodox American, and he himself remembers this time as one which widened his ecclesiastical-political outlook, acquainted him with new phases of human relationships and prepared him for his later experiences. During the time of his service in America, Bishop Tikhon only once returned to Russia when he was called by the Holy Synod to take part in the summer session. Here before the higher members of the hierarchy and the secular directors of the Church—C. P. Pobedonostsev was then still the Chief-Procurator—the ecclesiastical administrative talent of the young Bishop came into evidence and he was soon raised to the high rank of Archbishop, and then called to rule one of the oldest and most important dioceses—that of Yaroslavl. There in Yaroslavl he was quite in his element. All loved the worthy, wise and friendly Archpastor, who gladly responded to all invitations to pontificate in the numerous Yaroslavl Churches, in its ancient Monasteries and even in the Parish Churches of the large diocese. He often

visited the Churches without any pomp, even going on foot which at that time was unusual for a Russian Bishop. And in visiting the Churches he entered into all the details of their circumstances, even sometimes climbing up the belfry to the astonishment of the priests, unaccustomed to such simple ways in their Bishops. But this surprise soon changed into love for the Chief Pastor, who talked with his subordinates simply and friendlily, with kindly jokes and without any trace of superiority. Even reproofs were usually given kindly, sometimes jocularly, which made the recipient try all the more to correct the fault indicated.

It seemed to the people of Vilna that they had been given an ideal Archbishop with whom they would never wish to part. But the higher Church officials, especially the secular, did not approve of Bishops remaining long in one See, especially if they gained there universal affection. Archbishop Tikhon was soon translated to the diocese of Vilna and Archbishop Agathangel was sent thence to Yaroslavl. The latter is also a most worthy Archpastor and the reasons for such an exchange were not understood. Apparently there was interference on the part of the "Union of the Russian people," then very influential with the higher ecclesiastical sphere.[1] The farewell to Archbishop Tikhon on the part of Yaroslavl was unusually hearty; the general love and respect felt for him was expressed by the fact that the Town Council elected him honorary citizen of Yaroslavl, a distinction which had not fallen, probably, to the lot of any of the Bishops of that time.

In Vilna much tact was required on the part of the Orthodox Archbishop. It was necessary to please the local authorities and the Orthodox inhabitants of the district, sometimes very inimically disposed towards the Poles; also not to provoke the latter who constituted the majority of the educated people in the locality. It was needful always to keep in mind the peculiarities of the religious life of the district which was partially Catholic and Polish in tendency. For Archbishop Tikhon, who liked simplicity in all, the most difficult thing was to maintain the outward prestige of the spiritual head of the dominant Church of the district where the Polish idea of honour was still remembered and where splendour was highly esteemed. In this respect his simple and modest Lordship did not seemingly fulfil the demands of the admirers of outward show, although in the Church services he did not, of course, deflect from the obligatory grandeur and pomp, and never lowered the prestige

[1] It was thought at the time that this exchange was caused by the desire to remove Archbishop Agathangel from Vilna, in consequence of his having shown his usual tact and consideration for those among whom his lot is cast by not countenancing the attendance of his clergy at the political demonstration on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to Count Muraviev, the ruthlessly Russianising Governor-General, so distasteful to the Catholic population—Poles and Lithuanians. (Trans.)

of the Russian name in his relations with Catholics. And there all respected him. I remember how he once drove from Vilna to his beautiful episcopal summer-residence, Trejiopol, in a plain, open carriage and wearing a priest's travelling cap, to the horror of the Russian officials,—but all who met and recognised him, Russians, Poles and Jews, bowed low to him. During his walks about the " Calvaries "—as the Catholic Chapels round this residence, consecrated to the different stations of the Cross on Golgotha are called—all the Catholic attendants in the Chapels rose and greeted him, although he was only in cassock and hat.

Here in Vilna the declaration of war in 1914 reached his Grace. His diocese proved to be within the sphere of action, and, therefore, through it passed the military front, cutting off part of the diocese from Russia. His Grace had to leave Vilna, taking only the holy relics and part of the Church vessels. At first he settled in Moscow, whither many of the institutions from Vilna had been removed, and later at Disna, on the border of his diocese. In all the organisations for helping in one way or another those suffering from the war, serving the spiritual needs of the soldiers, and so forth, Archbishop Tikhon took an active part, visiting the sick and suffering, and even entering the fighting line under the fire of the enemy, for which he received a high decoration with swords. During this time also his Grace sat in the Holy Synod whither he was frequently called by the Government. Among other matters entrusted to him by the Synod he had to undertake the distant and not very agreeable journey to Tobolsk to investigate the famous affair of the recognition of relics, as worthy of veneration, which Bishop Barnabas had taken upon himself, unauthorised, being supported by Rasputin. As always, Archbishop Tikhon acted in a manner to promote conciliation and greatly assisted the favourable conclusion of the matter.

The position of the Archbishop was most difficult during the days of the Revolution when he was in the Synod, and in the seat of Constantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev and Vladimir Karlovich Sabler, there was the unbalanced Vladimir Nicolaevich Lvov. Instantly, with zeal worthy of a better cause and the manner of the gens d'armes of an earlier time, the revolutionary Chief-Procurator drove out of the Synod the Metropolitans Pitirim and Macarius (of Petrograd and Moscow), who had been candidates of Rasputin, but also the other members of the Synod had no easy task to get on with V. N. Lvov.

Then the whole composition of the Holy Synod was changed, and His Grace of Yaroslavl was also freed from attendance in it. Soon after the Moscovites had to elect an Archpastor in the place of the Metropolitan Macarius who was sent into retirement, and now Archbishop Tikhon was elected to the Metropolitical See of Moscow.

What influenced this choice, entirely unexpected by the Archbishop himself? Undoubtedly, the hand of God led him to this service which he now performs to the glory of the Church and the salvation of the land. In Moscow he was little known. Special delegates from both ecclesiastical and secular circles went to Petrograd to collect information about worthy candidates; at a meeting especially arranged for them, many names were suggested, and among them that of Archbishop Tikhon, but nothing was definitely decided upon. In the preliminary meetings in Moscow, before the election of the Archpastor, the name of Archbishop Tikhon did not stand out prominently; there were more votes for Alexander Dimitrievich Samarin,[1] and only the final counting of votes in the Cathedral before the ancient sacred treasure of Moscow, the icon of our Lady of Vladimir[2] gave decisive preponderance to that of Arch-

[1] A. D. Samarin is one of the most interesting figures of the time. He belongs to a well-known Moscow family, his uncle having been a prominent Slavophil who played a part in the "Russification" of the Baltic Provinces. A. D. Samarin was for many years Marshall of the Moscow Nobility before he was called by the late Emperor during the ascendancy of Rasputin, to become Chief-Procurator of the Holy Synod. Before accepting, he stipulated to have a free hand, and this was promised him. He soon came into conflict with the unworthy favourite, and was organising the needful reforms when he was summarily dismissed without explanation. On his return to Moscow he was received with a great demonstration of sympathy and approbation, and he was soon hard at work as head of the Red Cross during the war. When it became known that a Patriarch would be elected, Samarin, though a layman, was regarded as the first candidate and when the question was asked: "Who do you think will be Patriarch?" the answer was frequently: "Of course, Samarin." This was heard from the lips of prominent Churchmen. He was, in fact, a candidate, but withdrew his name not long before the election—perhaps, when he saw that there was a good chance of the present Patriarch being elected. He quickly fell into disgrace with the Bolsheviks and was imprisoned. When his trial drew near great interest was shown, and it was considered a curious blunder on the part of the Bolsheviks that it was conducted in public, and that he was allowed to speak in his own defence. The court was crowded and very many could not gain admission. His speech was considered very remarkable, and the effect most unfavourable for the Bolsheviks. His sister, though in great grief for his suffering said that it was one of the happiest days of her life, and that he spoke like an early, Christian before his heathen persecutors. He would have been condemned to death but that capital punishment was just then supposed to have been abolished. He has been in prison ever since and sentenced to hard labour, which at first took the favourable form of book-binding. At times his lot has been rendered more bearable by the companionship of Bishops, Priests, Professors and others like-minded, and the possibility of using the prison Church for services at which Samarin himself acted as Reader, taking part also in the singing which he practised with his fellow-prisoners. His name will be remembered among the many heroic Russian Confessors. (Trans.)

[2] History of the Vladimir Icon of our Lady, taken in part from the ancient chronicle and from the authorised explanation of the Church Festivals.

The Vladimir Icon is the most remarkable in our land. It is said to have been painted by the Evangelist Luke. In the middle of the fifth century, under the Emperor Theodosius the younger, the icon was taken from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and in the middle of the twelfth century it was taken from Constantinople to Kiev, to the Great Prince Yuri Dolgoruki and was placed in the Virgin's Convent in Vishgorod, near Kiev. In 1155 the Great Prince Yuri gave Vishgorod as an appanage to his son Prince Andrew (called "Andrew of the Love of God"). But Andrew was already intending to remove from the south of Russia to the north, to the district of Rostov, and there to establish a new domain, independent of Kiev. Prince Andrew who "had great love for the Most Holy Mother of God, and on whose lips was ever the name of Christ and His Most Pure Mother," took the icon with him as far as Vladimir, where he was led to build a Church in which to place it. The

bishop Tikhon ; he was solemnly proclaimed to be elected and was confirmed by the Holy Synod. It is possible that the nearness of Yaroslavl to Moscow was of some significance in this : the people of Yaroslavl well remembered Archbishop Tikhon.

Moscow solemnly and gladly welcomed its first elected Archpastor. [1] He soon proved congenial to all—lay and clerical. All received from him an equally warm reception and friendly word ; he refused his counsel, help and blessing to none. It was soon evident that His Grace gladly accepted invitations to pontificate in Parish Churches, and clergy and Church wardens began to vie with one another in inviting him to the service on dedication festivals and none were refused.

After the service the Archpastor willingly entered the houses of the parishioners to their great joy. In a short time almost all Moscow knew its Archbishop—knew, reverenced and loved him—this was clearly evident later on.

Directly the Revolution broke out and the power crumbled on which the Church was accustomed to lean, it became evident to all Church people that it was necessary at once to call the Church Council which should give fresh strong support to Church order. The Synod assembled the " Pre-Conciliar Council," for the decision of all questions concerning the immediate calling of the Council, and in the work of this conference, Archbishop Tikhon took an active part. When it was decided to open the Council definitely in Moscow on August 15th,[2] the new Archpastor had to work hard, in order, in the short time, to make all the necessary preparation for the reception and accommodation of the ecclesiastical guests, members of the Council. No Church Council had been held in

devout Prince adorned the holy icon by surrounding it with a casing of gold, silver and precious stones. After building the Church, Prince Andrew carried the miraculous icon into it, and from that time it began to be called the Vladimir icon. The solemnity of the translation took place on September 21st, 1160. At the time of the fire in 1185, which destroyed the Cathedral Church in Vladimir with all its treasures, the icon was preserved uninjured ; at the time of the invasion of the Tartars, under the leadership of Baty, on February 7th, 1237, the icon lost its precious casing, but itself remained whole, " by the grace of the Mother of God, inalienable from her icon, for the assurance of piety and the protection of the Russian land." In 1380, on September 8th, Dimitry Donskoy, by the help of the Mother of God, achieved a victory over Mamai. After the removal of the icon to Moscow, there also many wonders were manifested. This is witnessed to by the special festivals kept by the Orthodox Church in honour of the Vladimir icon of our Lady. Three times in the year the Church celebrates it in thanksgiving for the three-fold deliverance of our ancient capitals and our country from the enemy ; on August 26th (the deliverance from Mamai, in 1395) ; on July 23rd (the deliverance from Akhmet, in 1480) ; and on May 21st (the deliverance from Makhmet, in 1521).

[1] The elective principle, having been put forward by the Bolsheviks, was revived also in Church elections in place of the nominations which had superseded it during the supremacy assumed by the State. (Trans.)

[2] August 15th, old style (corresponding to August 28th, new style), the Festival of the Assumption, or Falling Asleep of the Mother of God, the dedication of the chief Cathedral Church of Moscow, was chosen for the opening of the Council. (Trans.)

Russia for over 200 years; all was new and unaccustomed, it was necessary to arrange every detail that the work of the Council might be carried on without hindrance and successfully. The Archbishop himself frequently examined all the buildings destined for the work of the Council and for its members, he visited the Monasteries where the Bishops were to be entertained—more than sixty were awaited. And if the Council went smoothly from the first, if the members could live and work, even if without the desirable space and comfort, this was undoubtedly owing to the Archpastor of Moscow.

The members of the Council quickly appreciated this. Archbishop Tikhon was elected President of the Council, receiving at at the same time the title of Metropolitan. This was the natural way of expressing the desire of the members to show honour to the ecclesiastical host who offered hospitality to the Council. And the Metropolitan Tikhon's Presidency made it possible for all the members gathered from the far corners of Russia, and even from abroad, to become closely acquainted with the Archpastor, to get to know his beautiful character, inexhaustible benevolence, elevated mind and great tact. Up till then few had known his Grace; he did not care for prominence, never made much of himself and did not favour flatterers.

The Council at once brought up the question of the restoration of the Patriarchate in Russia which had been annulled by Peter the Great, with the object of strengthening the kingly autocracy. The Council decided on the restoration. This exactly coincided with the Bolshevik arrogation of power; in Moscow a ceaseless cannonade was going on—the Bolsheviks were firing on the Kremlin[1] where a group of young officers still held out loyally. When the Kremlin fell, all in the Council were terribly alarmed, both as to the fate of the young men (from the military school) who had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks and also for that of the sacred treasures of Moscow, which were being fired upon. And the first to hasten thither, so soon as entrance to it was possible, was the Metropolitan Tikhon at the head of a small group of members of the Council. I remember with what anxiety the Council listened to the animated account of the Metropolitan just returned from the Kremlin and how, beforehand, the members feared for his safety: some of those who accompanied him returned from half-way and related horrors of what they had seen, but all bore witness that the Metropolitan walked quite calmly, paying no attention to the brutalised soldiers

[1] It seems that it is not always known that the Kremlin is the heart of Moscow; it was the first site of the city, containing the palace of the Great Princes (and later the Imperial Palace), the first and chief Churches, Monasteries, the Treasury and later the Arsenal and Law Courts and other buildings. It is on high ground on the bank of the river, commanding a fine view of the present city and is surrounded by a wall pierced by gates leading in various directions. (Trans.)

who, before his eyes, were settling with their victims, and went everywhere where it was needful for him to go. His greatness was then evident to all.

The election of the Patriarch was hastened on: it was feared that the Bolsheviks might dissolve the Council. It was decided to choose three candidates by the votes of all the members and then to leave it to the will of God, by the casting of lots, to show the one elected. And so, after fervent prayer, the members of the Council began in long lines to pass before the urns with the names of the proposed candidates. The first and second votings gave the requisite majority for the Metropolitans of Kharkov and Kiev, and only at the third the name of the Metropolitan of Moscow Tikhon, stood out. Before the icon of our Lady of Vladimir, especially brought from the Cathedral of the Assumption (or, more exactly, the Falling Asleep of the Mother of God), to the Temple [1] of Christ the Saviour, after a solemn Liturgy and special service of prayer, the *Skhimnik* Alexei,[2] member of the Council, reverently drew from the urn one of the three lots with the names of the candidates, and the now deceased Metropolitan of Kiev, Vladimir,[3] proclaimed the name of the elect, the Metropolitan Tikhon. I vividly remember with what humility, with full consciousness of the importance of the lot fallen to him, and with entire dignity, the Most Reverend Tikhon received the news of the choice of God. He had not impatiently awaited this news, but also was not overcome by alarm—his humble bowing before the will of God was clearly visible to all. When the solemn deputation of members of the Council, led by the highest ecclesiastics, entered the Church

[1] There is a third word corresponding to *Temple*, besides the usual words for Church and Cathedral, which latter is rather loosely used as the chief Church in a place is called by the same name as one containing the Bishop's Chair or Throne, though the latter has an added adjective to express that it is the *Cathedral* Church. The third word also used for Churches in general is sometimes applied to a certain Church in particular. The large new Church of Christ the Saviour, built in commemoration of the victory over the French, is actually the Cathedral of the diocese of Moscow, but as the ancient Church of the Assumption, or the Falling Asleep of the Mother of God in the Kremlin was originally the chief Church of the Patriarch of All Russia (as it now is again), it is pre-eminently *the Cathedral*, and the chief Church of the Diocese of Moscow is always called the Temple of Christ the Saviour. The word for Cathedral is the same as that for Council or Assembly, *e.g.*, in "the glorious *company* of the Apostles."

[2]. A Skhimnik belongs to the highest Monastic grade, in former times usually attained by Religious, but later more rarely reached, the majority of Monks and Nuns being actually in the rank of novices. A Skhimnik after receiving the full "Angelic Habit," or Skhema, generally remains in seclusion, but sometimes continues active service. The Skhimnik Alexei was well-known as a spiritual guide until he retired into more complete seclusion from which he issued specially to attend the Church Council on being elected to it by the Monastery of Troitsa to which he was attached.

[3] The Metropolitan of Kiev, ranks as the highest of the three former Metropolitical Sees—Kiev, Moscow and Petrograd. The Metropolitan Vladimir occupied them all in order. He was one of the first martyrs of the Revolution, having been arrested and put to death in Kiev. (Trans.)

of the Cell of the Troitsa Laura[1] in Moscow for the ceremonial announcement of the good tidings of the choice of God, and to congratulate the newly-elected Patriarch, his Grace issued from the Sanctuary in his Bishop's Mantiya,[2] and in an even voice began the short service appointed for the occasion. In response to the congratulatory speeches pronounced after the service in the names of the Council of the Synod and of the Diocese of Moscow, his Grace found friendly and unconventional words for each; this was remarked at the time. Then he took a vow to stand by the Orthodox Church till death—and now he has shown before all that this was not an empty promise, that it was made from his heart and with sincere intention.

The time preceding his solemn elevation to the Patriarchal throne the Metropolitan Tikhon spent in the Laura of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius, preparing to receive the high dignity. A Commission of the Council hurriedly worked out the order, for long forgotten in Russia, of the Enthronement of Patriarchs, the specialities of their office in the Church service, distinctions in apparel and so forth. The Bolsheviks had not then closed the Kremlin, and it was possible to perform the ceremony in the ancient Patriarchal Cathedral of the Falling Asleep—or Decease—of the Mother of God, where the Patriarchal Throne was preserved in the *high place*[3]—on it none had sat since the time of the last Patriarch—and also the special place for the Patriarch (in the body of the Church). The vestments of the Russian Patriarchs were taken from the rich Patriarchal Sacristy, the crosier of the Metropolitan Peter, the mitre and white cowl of the Patriarch Nicon. It is interesting to note that the cowl and mantle of the Metropolitan Nicon proved to be quite fitting for the new Patriarch.

The great ecclesiastical solemnity took place in the Cathedral of the Falling Asleep, on November 21st, old style (*i.e.*, December 4th, new style), 1917. Ivan the Great (the largest bell in the Kremlin) boomed forth mightily, all around was heard the crowd of people filling, not only the Kremlin, but also the Red Place[4] where the

[1] The great Monastery of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius, one of the three Lauras, or Chief Monasteries, in Russia, is in the country about 40 miles from Moscow. The Metropolitan of Moscow's town residence is in the Moscow Cell of this Monastery, as he is also Abbot of Troitsa, the Monastery being ruled by a Prior as deputy. (Trans.)

[2] The wide, flowing silk vestment of purple or blue worn by a Bishop on such occasions and before and after pontificating, is the episcopal form of a Monk's *Mantiya* or mantle. (Trans.)

[3] The "high place" is the raised part in the Eastern Apse of the Sanctuary, behind the Altar—in the middle is the Throne for the Patriarch—or in ordinary Cathedrals for the Bishop, and on either side of it, lower seats for the clergy, this order representing Christ and the Apostles. The other "special place" for the Patriarch in the Nave is a canopied throne in front of the pillar nearest the east end on one side, on a line with another destined for the Tsar, on the other side. (Trans.)

[4] A large open space outside the Kremlin wall on the town side. (Trans.)

processions had assembled from all the Moscow Churches. During the Liturgy at the time of the singing of " axios " (worthy) the two Chief Metropolitans thrice led the elect of God to the Patriarchal Throne, and vested him in the sacred apparel proper to his rank. After the Liturgy the new Patriarch, accompanied by the great procession, went round the Kremlin, sprinkling it with holy water. The attitude of the Bolsheviks to this solemnity was noticeable. They did not then feel themselves complete masters and had not yet taken up a definite position with regard to the Church, although enmity to it was evident. The soldiers of the main-guard, close to the Cathedral, behaved indecorously, did not remove their caps when the icons and banners were carried past, smoked, laughed and talked loudly. But now the Patriarch came out, appearing like a bent old man in his round white cowl with the cross above it, and the blue velvet mantle of the Patriarch Nicon—and I saw how the soldiers instantly pulled off their caps and rushed towards the Patriarch, stretching out their hands for his blessing over the railing of the guard-house. It was clear that the first manner was only bravado, a new fashion they had adopted, and now the real feeling, inbred for ages, had broken through.

The Patriarch Tikhon did not alter, he remained the same accessible friendly man now, at the head of the Russian hierarchy. As before, he gladly accepted invitations to pontificate in the Moscow Churches. Some of those near him advised him, when possible, to decline these fatiguing services, reminding him of the prestige of a Patriarch; but it appeared later that this accessibility stood him in good stead: people everywhere looked upon him as their own, loved him and were ready to stand for him like a rock when it was needful to defend him. Let the Bolsheviks try to touch him—all Moscow would have stood for him, and now all Russia. But the gentleness of manner of the Patriarch did not prevent him from being inflexibly firm in the affairs of the Church, when it was necessary, especially in defending her from her enemies. It was then already fully realised that the Bolsheviks might hinder the Council from working and even disperse it. Notwithstanding this the Patriarch never shrank from direct condemnation of the persecution of the Church, of the decrees of the Bolsheviks, destructive of the maintenance of Orthodoxy, of their terror and cruelties.

The convicting epistle of the Patriarch, ending with an Anathema on the Bolsheviks, is remembered by all. Not once or twice, great Church processions were arranged to keep up the religious feelings of the people and the Patriarch unfalteringly took part in them. And when the bitter news of the murder of the Imperial Family was received, the Patriarch at once, during the Session of the Council,

held the service of prayer for the departed [1] and also pontificated at a Requiem Liturgy, pronouncing a sternly accusing speech, reproaching the Bolsheviks with this crying crime.

By the decision of the Moscow Church Council the Patriarch acts in the government of the Church together with the Sacred Synod, consisting only of Bishops, and the Supreme Church Conference, consisting of Bishops, Clergy and laymen. And the Patriarch always strictly observed this regulation of the Council, not taking upon himself personal decisions, and preferred to do all by general agreement, frequently calling a united meeting of the Synod and the Supreme Conference. He turned to them for advice even on such matters as belonged to him individually, although he left himself the right to follow the counsel received or not. I remember how the thundering epistle of the Patriarch to the Bolsheviks was composed on the anniversary of the commencement of their rule. Many then insistently dissuaded the Patriarch from this risky step, fearing for his liberty and life. When at a united session of the Synod and the Conference he read the draught of the epistle, all expressed extreme apprehension and pointed out that the Patriarch should protect himself for the good of the Church. The Patriarch attentively listened to all advice, but kept to his intention. The next Sunday he pontificated in the Church of his Troitsa Cell, and after the Liturgy informed those who visited him that he had subscribed the epistle and arranged for it to be forwarded to the Commissaries—" Yes, he attentively listens to everyone and gives a soft answer, but in action he reveals an invincible will," said one member of the Council in reference to this.

Every minute the life of the Patriarch was feared for. The Bolsheviks had already laid hands on members of the Council, turning them out of one building after another. Some were arrested, there were alarming rumours of intentions against the Patriarch. Once, late at night a whole deputation of members of the Council went to him with prominent Bishops at their head, telling him, on the word of dependable people, of the decision of the Bolsheviks to arrest him and earnestly advising him to leave Moscow and even to go abroad—all had been prepared for this. The Patriarch who had already gone to bed, came out to the deputation, calm and smiling, listened attentively to all he was told and decisively declared that he would go nowhere: " The flight of the Patriarch," he said, " would be too convenient for the enemies of the Church; they would use this for their own ends. Let them do what they will." The

[1] The Sessions of the Council were held in the great Hall of the Diocesan House. The Hall itself formed an extended Nave to the House Church dedicated to St. Vladimir, the Enlightener of Russia. The Patriarch and the chief Prelates sat facing the Council Hall against a background formed by the Ikonostas and the other features of the Church. (Trans.)

deputation even passed the night at the Patriarch's residence and wondered much at his calmness.

Thank God, the alarm proved futile, but all Moscow feared for the Patriarch. The Parish Communities of Moscow organised a guard for the Patriarch: members of the various Parish Councils passed the night in turn at his residence and the Patriarch invariably went to converse with them. It is doubtful what this guard could have done if the Bolsheviks had really thought of arresting the Patriarch: it could, of course, not have defended him by force, nor have gathered the people to protect him either—as the Bolsheviks cautiously forbade ringing an alarm under threat of immediately firing and even posted their sentinels in the belfries. But Church people found solace in serving the Patriarch and he did not hinder this.

The Patriarch drove out fearlessly both to the Churches of Moscow and beyond, wherever he was invited. He went in a closed carriage when this was possible, or in an open one, and before him generally drove a sub-deacon in a dalmatic, carrying a tall cross in his hands. The people reverently stopped and uncovered, and I remember no case of any offensive word being said. When the Patriarch went to Bogorodsk, an industrial town in the Government of Moscow, and later to Yaroslavl and to Petrograd, many feared that the soldiers or workmen might create a scandal, but all fears proved futile. In Bogorodsk the workpeople met the Patriarch as they formerly met the Tsar, they arranged for his welcome a prettily decorated pavilion and all the streets were crowded at the time of his arrival. In Yaroslavl—it was already after its partial demolition (at the time of the struggle with the Bolsheviks)—the Commissaries themselves were constrained to take part in the welcome—dined with the Patriarch and were photographed with him. The journey of the Patriarch to Petrograd is well known: it was quite a triumph. The Moscow Commissaries wished to set apart only one compartment for the Patriarch, but the railwaymen demanded that he should be given a special carriage and welcomed him at the stopping-places on the way. Religious feeling spoke within the Russian, he felt in his heart that the Patriarch was "his own," and loved him and was devoted to him with his whole soul.

In the Church services the Patriarch Tikhon observes the same simplicity which distinguishes him in private life: there is none of the unnecessary theatrical mannerism which is so often annoying, and also no roughness towards the servers, the loud reproofs and agitation which sometimes accompany a Bishop's service. If it be necessary to give some direction, it is done quietly and civilly, and reproofs are given only after the service and always in the gentlest tone. And indeed, they are not necessary: his fellow servers

become penetrated with the quiet, prayerful frame of mind of the Patriarch, and each one tries to do his part as well as possible. I remember with what love and reverence the famous Moscow Archdeacon[1] Rozov,[2]—who is said already to have met with a tragic end—served with the Patriarch. The solemn service of the Patriarch with numerous Bishops and Clergy and large processions was always performed decorously and in complete order, and was very up-lifting devotionally.

The Patriarch lived in the apartment of the former prelates of Moscow in the Trinity Cell of the St. Sergius Laura (Troitsa); this modest though spacious house is much simpler than many of the other Episcopal houses in Russia. Closely adjoining the house is the Church of the Holy Cross, where Monks from the Laura of the Holy Trinity daily hold the appointed services. Beside the Sanctuary there is a small Oratory set about with icons; in it the Patriarch worships in the time of service when he does not "serve" himself. But he likes to take his own part in the services and often does so in his own Church. The house is surrounded by a garden in which the Patriarch likes to walk when time permits. There visitors often join him and those who know him intimately and pleasant, cordial conversation goes on, sometimes till a late hour. The garden is convenient, well secluded from the adjacent courtyards; but the neighbours' children sometimes gather on the high fence and then the Patriarch kindly gives them apples or sweets. There is also a small orchard and a kitchen and flower garden, and even a bath-house,[3] but all this was neglected from the time of the Revolution.

The Patriarch's table was naturally also very modest: black bread was given out in portions, and often mixed with straw and potatoes without butter. But even before his Holiness was not at all exacting and preferred simple food, especially Russian cabbage soup (of course, without meat), and buckwheat *kasha*.[4]

On leaving to rejoin my family in the south, I took leave of the

[1] An Archdeacon is, of course, not a priest; he is the chief Deacon who serves with a Bishop. A Proto-deacon is the first or head Deacon of a Cathedral or chief Church. (Trans.)

[2] Rozov was well-known for his wonderfully powerful voice and fine rendering of the service. Though he could fill any building, he never made any unnatural effort, but used his voice with perfect control and effect. (Trans.)

[3] The usual Russian steam bath found in all villages and old houses with large courtyards. It is built like a log house and heated with wood. It is now superseded in towns by bath-rooms in the modern houses. (Trans.)

[4] Russian Religious Monks and Nuns eat no meat and at fasting seasons, *i.e.*, during the four fasts (the Great Fasts of Lent of seven weeks; the fast of SS. Peter and Paul, from the Sunday after Whit-Sunday till June 29th; the fast of the "Assumption," from August 1st to August 15th; and the Christmas fast from November 15th till December 25th) and on all Wednesdays, Fridays and Vigils and other special days appointed as fasts, nothing animal is eaten, no milk, butter or eggs. Fish is eaten on days which are not fasts. *Kasha* is neither porridge nor gruel, the grain being swelled by water which becomes absorbed, leaving it soft and separate, grain from grain, but not moist. (Trans).

Patriarch on December 2nd to 15th, 1918. He was then already under house-arrest; in the lower storey lived the guard—three soldiers of the Red Army who went upstairs in the evening to inspect their charge. The Patriarch could no longer drive out and officiated only in his own Church. I heard that later he was again allowed to drive out. He could still walk in his garden and receive visitors unhindered. He bore his arrest magnanimously and had no fear of the future. The fate of the Church and of Russia disquieted him more than anything else, but even as regards this he preserved full confidence that the trial sent by the Lord would end well and to the new glory of the Church and the land. Then it seemed that this would happen soon and that, before long, I should again see the Holy Patriarch and my native land. But three years have passed and none can say when our trial will end. The years pass, life declines; are we destined again to see our native land, again to receive the blessing of the Prelate—the Patriarch Tikhon?

* * * * *

On July 9th, 1922, when the last lines were written, no one thought that we should soon read in the papers such unexpected news from Moscow: the Patriarch Tikhon, it is said, has renounced his Prelatical authority. We might have expected anything: his banishment, his violent death, but those who know him cannot believe that he would voluntarily forsake his difficult responsible post at this fateful time. But meanwhile, news received from Soviet sources tells that on May 12th, a small group of priests from Petrograd and Moscow, having wholly joined the Communist Executive, addressed to the Patriarch an accusation of having "drawn the Church into a counter-revolutionary policy," and demanded "the immediate calling of a local Council for the organisation of the Church, and the complete removal of the Patriarch from the direction of the Church until the decision of the Council." It is not known what the Patriarch answered to this, but as a result of the conversation with the deputation it seems that he went away into his study and in some moments returned and gave to the deputation the following document with his signature, dated May 12th, 1922: "In view of the extreme difficulty of ecclesiastical direction which has brought me to civil judgment, I consider it well for the good of the Church, temporarily, until the calling of the Council, to place one of the Metropolitans at the head of the ecclesiastical direction."

As we see, there is here no renunciation of the throne: only "temporarily," in view of the necessity of answering before the civil judgment, and afterwards, perhaps, suffering civil punishment, confinement in prison, and so forth—the Patriarch gives over the direction of the Church to one of the Metropolitans, and himself leaves the consideration of affairs to the future Church Council.

But even such temporary retirement from ecclesiastical direction does not somehow agree with the character of the Patriarch: wise and provident, well understanding the responsibility lying upon him, he would scarcely obey the demands of a group of unauthorised priests—would scarcely have taken upon himself a decision so important for the Church without the advice of the Sacred Synod and Supreme Church Conference, to whom he always turned in such cases, and would scarcely have invested his declaration in such an official form. It is true the Moscow Church Council authorised the Patriarch to nominate a series of substitutes from among the hierarchy in case of his death or forcible eviction from power; and the calling of the Church Council is left to the power of the Patriarch, and judgment on the Patriarch belongs to the Council. But summons to civil judgment and even confinement in prison, at such a time as the present, can only do honour to a Church leader, and not give occasion for the examination of his action by the Council; still less can the accusation brought by a little group of clergy lead the Patriarch to renounce his authority; the most he could do would be to retire from presidency over the Council at the time of the deliberation upon the accusations brought against him and then submit to the decision of the Council. But to renounce authority now, when the storm threatens the ship of the Church on all sides, when the enemies of the Church are ready to take advantage on every occasion to deal her heavy blows—no, this is not like the Patriarch Tikhon.

Perhaps, there has begun for him the "final trial." Perhaps, he is already "a Confessor," as the early Christians were Confessors, fearlessly declaring before the heathen judges their faith in Christ. Perhaps, he will soon be a "Martyr," when he will receive the crown of suffering and death from the hands of the godless rulers. We will pray, we will wait and hope in the mercy of God. "Confirm the Church, O Lord."

## ROME, ORTHODOXY AND REUNION.

By Professor N. Glubokovsky, D.D.

*(I dedicate this article to my pupil and friend, Panteleimon Comnenos, Professor of Halki).*

TORN to pieces as it is by its conflicts, the whole civilised world is searching for a general appeasement, but has found none attainable through the sphere of politics and succeeds in maintaining a kind of unreal equipoise only by force or threats. Disillusioned as to finding the means of success in that direction, it is

now turning its attention to those factors which can create spiritual unity, and has accordingly begun to speak of general ecclesiastical reunion with earnestness. The effort to achieve that end is, indeed, intense and widespread. None the less, that effort, at present, is evoked and supported not by spiritual[1] influences, but rather by material[1] necessities, and, therefore, is directed towards visible centralisation. That being so, it will be understood how all the newly formulated schemes of that category tend toward a Papal headship over the whole of Christendom, such as was proclaimed by the Council of Florence—a headship in the same sense that Marshal Foch had first place over the allied armies.

That origin and the aptness of that comparison establish both the nature of the projects in question and our judgment on these. They are attractive only to those who are uninstructed or who are in despair, and from the Orthodox point of view neither possess nor promise the least ground for hope.

First, the present is a most unfavourable moment for anything of the kind. A genuine movement towards religious union requires those real mutual attractions, on which it is necessary to base the work of removing prejudices and misunderstandings. These latter the Orthodox find increased immeasurably so as to have become well-nigh insuperable. In this time of its disaster Orthodoxy had a right in the name of general Christian interests at least to calculate upon sympathy, but the part assumed towards it by Roman Catholicism has been that of a wolf ravening and eager to swallow its agonised Orthodox prey. (I PETER v, 8.) I neither condemn nor acquit, I simply describe its unquestionable attitude. Orthodox Russia will not forgive the Papacy the moral support afforded by it to atheistic and antichristian Bolshevism and, since Rome is displaying a far from laudable activity in proselytising its flock, is by no means inclined to enter into conversations with it. Further in the East the Vatican is fussily devoting itself to the overthrow of Orthodoxy and is not ashamed, witness Signor Giulio Castelli's arrival in the Nacione, of making the fact plain. For a man condemned to death, plainly, it must be hard to enter into comradeship with the very person who, though he be his brother, has prepared his fate for him. In the present case the Roman Catholic may see a brother in the Orthodox, but the Orthodox see in the Roman Catholic a triumphant destroyer. Can there, then, be discerned even the smallest sign of mutual approach here when the one flees from the other in fear and the other pursues the one with all his strength?

Secondly, we have the unattractive example of the Council of Florence. It is true that in June, 1439, the Greeks accepted the Pope as "the supreme pontiff, the vicar and vicegerent of Christ,

[1] The Russian words are "inner" and "outer."

the shepherd and teacher of all Christians" and that, in acceding to the Latins, Bessarion of Nicæa (d. 18. 11. 1472) averred that it is a good thing to be subdued when defeat is profitable. But what ensued? It was but a short time before, on their return to their country, the same Greeks who had made it repudiated the Florentine agreement, while, in 1451, the Greek hierarchy synodically denounced the whole Roman Church and declared in stringent terms that the Florentine Union had been a falling away from the truth. Moreover, when, on December, 12th, 1452, Cardinal Isidore read the Florentine Act of Union in St. Sophia, the Orthodox people of Constantinople forsook that venerated shrine which was left empty. Nor was the Florentine Union accepted in Russia when the same Isidore who, in the capacity of Metropolitan of Russia, 1435–1441, was busied in publishing it sedulously through the Lithuanian, Livonian and Russian Dioceses, was deposed at Moscow from the Metropolitan Throne, as a false pastor, a destroyer of souls and a heretic, the Florentine Council being pronounced another Latrocinium, *i.e.*, a Robber Synod, after the fashion of that held at Ephesus in the time of Dioscurus.

All this is ungainsayable, though bitter, historical fact and witnesses incontrovertibly to the vanity of such experiments in regard to Union, even though at their outset they may appear very successful. Why should we then expect the like to have a more happy result at the present time? Has there been a change for the worse for Orthodoxy? or for the better for Roman Catholicism?

The Florentine Union, proclaimed in the shrine of St. Sophia on December 12th, 1452—only five months before the Fall of Constantinople under the onslaught of the Osmanli's fanatic Islamism—was a pitiable act of agonised despair.

There are, indeed, only too many reasons to-day for a similar act on the part of Orthodoxy which is terrorised barbarously by absolutely demoniac violence and is disintegrated by internal discord and mutually antagonistic self-assertions. But neither Moscow under the Bolsheviks, nor Constantinople, though it has recently been criminally handed over to Moslemisation, have shown signs either of disturbance or of a faintheartedness which might lead them to doctrinal compromise. Gilded with the blood of its martyrs, the Russian Church feels itself more and more strongly to be Orthodox and above all things wills to remain so. Its chief has given an inspired example of witness for its Faith. Full of conviction and firm in will, calm and unbroken by his imprisonment, the Patriarch Tikhón has shown himself the brilliant and worthy symbol of Holy Russia, that Russia which will never change its Orthodoxy and which will never accept union outside it. Nor even in the East do I know of any situation more grievous than that in which the

Œcumenical Patriarch has been placed of late. In the midst of a universal surrender to a wickedly triumphant Islam, and with no defence except that of the Anglicans, he has manifestly been threatened with an almost inevitable and cruel death from which all have agreed that he could escape only by flight. But, good shepherd as he is, ready to lay down his life for his sheep, and worthy, therefore, of beatification, Meletios has never given a moment's thought to that and has remained the worthy exponent of the traditions of John Chrysostom and of Photios. He has not abandoned his " Œcumenical " throne and has made no journey to Rome. On the contrary, he has authoritatively recognised the canonicity of the Anglican Hierarchy.

To sum up the matter, in spite of its unexampled misfortune, Orthodoxy has manifested no yielding adaptability towards doctrinal compromises. So far as it is concerned, it is impossible to reckon on complaisant submission, but rather it is necessary to suppose that in any case it demands real equality. Would the Papacy of to-day yield it that? and have the relations between the Churches improved in that respect? Conceivably there might be an answer, other than flatly negative, to that question.

The Vatican Council, in laying down dogmatically the ultramontane definition of the Papacy became an impenetrable barrier between Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox East. It struck at the very basis of Orthodoxy and its concept of Œcumenicity and replaced it by the personal authority of an infallible Vicar of Christ. No artificial explanations can remove that primary contradiction which does not permit equal fraternal relationship, inasmuch as such is impossible in the system of the Vatican Papacy. They may urge as much as they will that the " Roman Bishop " does not govern or preside simply of himself, but in solidarity with his Church, and that he guarantees that his relation to others, in the event of their union with him, will be the same. But an unchangeable presupposition is concealed in that very declaration. For the Pope, as he has developed, all ecclesiastical organs are only subordinate and auxiliary, even though they take the form of Great Councils; for such have always been, and will be, simply weighty advisory commissions dealing with various matters, and their decisions receive force only through the Pope's confirmation. The Pope is the sole source of every construction of dogma. He alone brings forth dogmas for the world from the treasures of the " Apostolic Deposit " and prescribes them and other forms of Faith in their Catholic fulness.

The Pope is the absolute head of his own Church, and can in no wise be other for any that is newly brought into unity with him. It is of the greatest importance to define the category of the rôle claimed by the Papacy in the Roman Catholic system, because the doing so

gives the definitive factor of the relations of the Churches. The claims of the Papacy cannot be different either upon Orthodoxy or upon Anglicans, in which it denies the existence of a priesthood, than it is upon its own Communion. That fact should be firmly understood by everyone—and especially by whoever is engaged in advocating the recognition of a visible centre of the whole Œcumenical Church in the Papacy. The Papacy advances dogmatic claims to headship in its own society by succession from the "head of the Apostles," St. Peter, on the ground that he was endowed with privileges, exclusively his, among the college of the apostles, and has communicated them indefeasibly and solely to the Roman supreme Pontiff. These privileges cannot under any conditions be given up by those who have succeeded to them, nor be shared with anyone. In such a case, is it natural to look for anything at all, and especially to look for anything of the fashion of individual right, on behalf of the other Churches? Must not the Papacy demand a headship over them, which will obligate their subjection? That is no passing accident but the essence of Papal dominion. From all this it is clear that all the overtures of the present-day Papacy to Orthodoxy are invitations to it to submit to the Apostolic Throne and that every Encyclical issued by it forms only a Papal ultimatum to Orthodoxy. If this be so, then here there is only an unthinkable, "material"[1] headship, one which has nothing to do with "spiritual organic life." The latter would presuppose a federation with a common unifying presidency. By its very nature, however, the Papacy admits only its own exclusive domination and does not tolerate terms of equal federation. For these latter there are, therefore, no precedents in Papal history, but there are examples to the contrary and in plenty. The truth of that conclusion is established by that altogether deceptive Uniatisation, which is too well known to Orthodox Russians as the "Lithuanian Union," proclaimed at the Council of Brest in October, 1596—its principles being those of the Florentine Union dealt with above. Provision was then made for full equality between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox, but in practice the latter have always been treated as half developed and only partially Christian, and have been forcibly headed towards "Catholic perfection"—in which alone they can acquire equal status with the Latins by getting rid of Orthodox customs and of resemblance to the Orthodox. In this again we have no historical accident, but a prime necessity inherent in Papal Catholicism, independently of the different shades of its schools of thought or of individual explanations.

It is thus that the well-known "Liberal Catholic" Prince Max Saxonski bears witness from the juridicial position that Uniats in

[1] *See* Note above.

the Roman Catholic system are " obliged to follow every Latin Law and Latin Theology in all its particulars : they are, in fact, Latins, but only Latins in an Eastern dress (sometimes in a Western) and with Eastern rites." Further and all the same, in view of those limitations, Roman Catholics " regard them—the Uniats—as half Catholic and half non-Catholic." (*See* the Magazine *Roma e Oriente*, November, 1910). Again that enlightened, authoritative and most fruitful Roman Catholic writer, Dr. Aurelio Palmieri, who is thoroughly equipped in the sphere of doctrine and extremely well-informed as to Russian Orthodoxy, makes it quite clear that for the Roman the very terms " Uniatisation " and " Ecclesiastical Union " are not exact. That is to say, from the Roman Catholic point of view, it is only possible to speak of the accession of Orthodox Churches to reunion with the Roman Church as submission to her, for they are bound to accept submissively from her all the former and later dogmas which have been enunciated by her, while she may abolish all the Uniat indulgences made them in the ritual sphere, and in general is free, in regard to those whom she accepts on their approach to her, to change the essential conditions of their union with her. (*See* his book *Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa*, vol. II, Florence, 1913, p. 178 *et seq.*)

In effect, the " true " Uniats are declared to be real Roman Catholics and differ, I submit, from Romans only as individuals differ from each other by their physiognomy, the colour of their hair and so forth. It is natural that they should feel, should think and should act in the most ultramontane manner and also that they should surpass their own superiors by a haughtiness of proselytisation towards those who were once their brethren, but whom they now reckon to be either unhappy or wicked " schismatics." The recent polemical Uniat pamphlets—bearing date up to 1922—of the Carpathian Uniat writer, Professor Dr. Gadzega of Uzgorod—serve as an illustration.

We see then that " Uniatisation," though in theory it supposes an equality of mutual relationship, is utilised in fact as a convenient bridge for a transition to the Roman side, with oblivion and renunciation of one's native country and a complete absorption in the bosom of an all-obliterating Roman Catholicism. In these facts we find speaking historical vindication of our dogmatic preconceptions. These latter assure us that the Pope, in being in his own Church the sole " vicegerent of Christ," must of necessity proclaim the like pretensions also in regard to all other Churches which enter into union with him, and which, in doing so, are obliged to lose their independence and become subject, being swallowed up in the Roman Catholic sea. Incontestably, Uniatisation justifies such demands of principle, and in accordance with them delineates itself as always

and everywhere inextricable in any ecclesiastical union from Roman Catholicism.

Therefore, considering the future, it is indubitable that for the Papacy there can be no equal and fraternal union of independent Christian Churches, and that, so far as such are concerned, the Pope will never be simply a visible head of their projected sodality, as in spite of doctrine and history some Utopians dream in their delusion. For Rome the only desirable thing is the absorption of all Churches into obedience to a single absolute, supreme, infallible teacher, and ruler of the whole world, from whom no appeal is possible.

It is such terms of union of the Churches that alone are allowed, promised and realised by the Papacy which can never change them until—is such a happening thinkable?—it is changed essentially in itself. Is such a situation acceptable to Orthodoxy?

Orthodoxy takes its stand altogether on Œcumenicity. It maintains a fraternal independence of local particular Churches. It professes a general and mutual solidarity. It decisively rejects every claim to exclusive primatical privilege. For it everything is regulated by a brotherly union, marked by equality of right in a union of faith and love, in which is permissible only a pre-eminence of rank, but not a juridical supremacy. From its own standpoint Orthodoxy condemns all the pretensions of the Papacy in the past, rejects its present-day claim to primacy and wills to have nothing to do with it in any future.

On that basis it does not conceive even the possibility of union with the Papacy and perceives no place whatever for it in its own system, preferring actual isolation, which may bring upon it the anger of partisans, but the reason for which is known altogether to God and is made clear in the light of the apostolic edifice of Christ's Church. Orthodoxy, thus, simply rejects the Papacy as such and cannot unite with it. In consequence, it visions no rôle whatever for the Papacy, and refuses to admit the possibility of its participation in its discussions for agreement with other Churches. Orthodoxy cannot trample on its own essential character, and, therefore, standing firmly on its own principle, closes every avenue by which the Papacy might creep into its system.

That by its dogmatic traditions Orthodoxy can express itself only on the basis of the age of the Œcumenical Councils has been its consistent answer to every approach from Rome and has been predicated in its conversations with other groups of Churches, *e.g.*, the Anglican and Old Catholic. The conclusion, therefore, is that Orthodoxy admits the Pope's primacy of honour and is ready to see in him a *primus inter pares*. But that requirement cannot be conceded by the Papacy, which would cease to be itself and would thus also part in the Roman Church with all those dogmatic "enrichments" which it

has acquired. Such a concession would entail a radical reform in the "head and members," the reconstitution of the Papacy and the recasting of the whole of Roman Catholicism. As things are, there is not the smallest change of disposition in that direction, but contrary tendencies are rather dominant. For its part, the Papacy has no room for the Orthodoxy of the present and refuses any relation with it, simply bidding it repent and submit.

While both sides maintain these irreconcilable positions there can be nothing between them but an uneasy truce, which unhappily will too frequently pass into thorough and protracted open quarrel. No sign of radical change in these attitudes can either be seen or anticipated, and without such change there can be neither mutual approach nor union. So that, when, in their desire for unity among the Churches, men speculate upon and discuss the position of the Papacy, I for my part reckon it an idle, confusing and misleading discussion, inasmuch as they are dealing with a baseless Utopia of a fashion which can never be realised. I believe in the commands and the promises of the Lord. I do not believe in vain human combinations and I am willing to admit a slavery of one to the other still less in the realm of religion and the Church than I am willing to admit it in that of humanity and the State.

In the ecclesiastical sphere our need is that Peace of God in which the one Head is Christ and in which all of us are brethren and coheirs of the gifts of Grace.

ZEMUN (ZEMLIN), 1923, I, 25 (II, 7)—Wednesday.

## CONSECRATION OF AN ARMENIAN CHURCH IN LONDON.

IN these days when, in the homelands of the race, Armenian Churches are being systematically demolished or converted into mosques, the consecration of an Armenian Church is necessarily rare. Those, therefore, who were privileged to be at the consecration of the Church of St. Sarkhis on Thursday, 11th January, were fortunate in the uniqueness of their privilege.

St. Sarkhis is a little gem, being in effect a reproduction of the 11th-century tower of the much-venerated shrine of the same dedication at Haghphat in Mt. Ararat. As all the world knows, the most striking feature of an Armenian church is the great height of its walls and the pulled-out domes on top of them. If you leave Kensington High Street station, turn down by Pontings and take the first on the right into Iverna Gardens, you will see St. Sarkhis in its seclusion and fancy yourself in the land of which Etchmiadzin is the mother.

That the Armenians in London, most tragically bereft of their national

home, might find a " bit of Armenia " was the right and noble motive which, in these days of need, inspired and prompted the founder, Mr. Gulbenkian, in building St. Sarkhis.

The souls of broken men need binding as much as their bodies need the Samaritan's care. And truly, as we chatted with men and women, lads and girls, among the 150 Armenians who crowded the stately little building, it was clear that Mr. Gulbenkian had spent his money more wisely than if he had given it (he has been very generous also in that matter) in material relief. Here was a fifteen-year-old village lad from Kharput with never a relation left alive. He had survived the death march to the Euphrates but had *seen* the way his mother and sisters died. There was another, eighteen years old, from Van, who had passed through the harrow himself. There was a woman from Smyrna. The priest who assisted Dr. Abel Nazarian in the consecration was from Moosh. Eight years back he was a husband with four sons. Now, he was alone. And so on. It is a martyr race, the Armenian! Verily it was good to see them meet, to hear them sing the songs of their Liturgy " in a strange land " and to know that for a moment they were home. You need not have been hysterical to feel the pathos of the gathering or its promise of hope.

In the Armenian Church a Vardapet (doctor) corresponds to an Archimandrite in the Orthodox. Dr. Nazarian is supreme Vardapet-Episcop over all Armenians in Western Europe, *i.e.*, he has episcopal *jurisdiction and rule*, though in priest's orders.

The Armenian consecration of a church in its essence consists of a series of blessings and unctions with Chrism consecrated in Etchmiadzin with the Holy Atch (*i.e.*, the right hand of St. Gregory Lusarovitch, the 4th-century refounder of the Apostolic Armenian Church) by the Supreme Catholicos.

The ceremony begins with the bringing-in procession of the altar consecration slab, its placing *in situ*, proceeds to the anointing with blessing of the many crosses on the four foundation stones, of the walls, columns, etc., of the building, and ends with the solemn furnishing of the altar. The last takes place behind the curtain, which corresponds to the Greek eikonostasion.

Liturgiologists tell us that Armenian rites are the children of the Byzantine mother, but thanks to the resonance of the Armenian tongue, musical and beautiful if weird withal to its distinctive music, and to many another feature, the consecration of St. Sarkhis struck us as something quite by itself and altogether impressive.

For example, there was great dignity in the procession, in which the central figure was the Vardapet vested in a large mitre of Western form and glorious *schourdcharr*, surrounded by singers and acolytes in albs and maroon capes, served by the Priest Iltis as deacon, and accompanied by three English priests, the Rev. G. K. A. Bell, our Archbishop's Chaplain, the Rev. Harold Buxton, and the Rev. J. A. Douglas, in choir vesture. The whole made a fine picture.

The same Gospel (St. John xii, 44–end) was sung at each unction, and it is worth noting that Mr. Bell and Mr. Buxton, who read letters

from the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, read them in English and that Mr. Douglas greatly pleased the congregation by risking the doing so in Armenian.

At the conclusion of the several unctions, the Vardapet gave a short address, which was followed by the Liturgy.

We append a translation of the service paper and the letters sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

ORDER OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF ST. SARKHIS,

ON JANUARY 11TH, 1923, IN IVERNA GARDENS, W.8.

1. The Procession emerges from the Vicarage at 10.30, passes the south door chanting "Holy Trinity," stops before the west door.
2. At the main entrance the first Degree is given to the Petra.
3. A brief ceremony is held for opening the door.
4. With the chant, "Open the door of Thy Grace," the Procession enters the church, followed by the congregation. Here the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Degrees are consecutively given to the foundation stones in the centre on the south and north, and facing the altar.
5. The 6th and 7th Degrees are given to the stones on the altar and they are consecrated together with the vestry.
6. Chanting "Thy Altar, O Lord," the circuit of the altar takes place.
7. Descending by the north steps and chanting "Enlightened by Thee" the Procession reaches the south side where the south wall and vestry are consecrated.
8. Chanting "Light of Purity" they proceed to the north and here the north wall is consecrated.
9. Chanting "From the Everlasting Source" they proceed to the west, where the west wall is consecrated.
10. Then they proceed to the north, where the right-hand-side column is consecrated in the name of "St. John the Evangelist."
11. They then proceed to the south, where the left-hand-side column is consecrated in the name of "St. Mark the Evangelist."
12. Then they proceed to the east, where the left-hand-side column is consecrated in the name of "St. Matthew the Evangelist."
13. The Procession turns to the north, where the right-hand side column is consecrated in the name of "St. Luke the Evangelist."
14. The north, south and east arches are then consecrated.
15. The Procession leaves through the west door, and the main door is consecrated from without. The inscription over the door is unveiled.
16. The Procession, re-entering the church, leaves through the north door, which is consecrated from without and the inscription over it is unveiled.
17. Parade in the church; the blessing of the church and giving its name.
18. The Procession and congregation leave the church through the west door, parade round the church west, south, east and north, and chanting "Bring the King" they enter through the west door, where each member of the congregation receives a candle.
19. The curtain is drawn. The altar is furnished, during the chant "Thy Altar, O Lord."
20. The curtain is opened with the chanting "Enlighten us, Jerusalem," and the first light is sent down to the congregation to light their candles.
21. Brief sermon followed by the Liturgy.

*Copy.*

OLD PALACE, CANTERBURY.
*10th January*, 1923.

DEAR MR. ABEL,

You may be sure of my keen interest in the service which you will hold for the Consecration of the Armenian Church to-morrow. That this work should have been completed at a time when the sympathies of all thoughtful Christian people are awakened by the sorrows, the sufferings and the strain of the Armenian people is a matter of great thankfulness and we must all appreciate the generosity of the munificent donor. Pray be assured of my fellowship with you in this undertaking, my satisfaction that the Armenians in London should have such a centre of worship, and my earnest prayers that the Divine Blessing may rest upon the ministrations in the new church.

My Chaplain (the Rev. G. K. A. Bell) is attending the Service to convey in that formal manner the assurance of my sympathy and benediction.

I am,

Yours very truly,

(*Signed*) RANDALL CANTUAR.

*Copy.*

FULHAM PALACE, S.W.6.
*10th January*, 1923.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have learnt you are having consecrated your church in Iverna Gardens to-morrow (11th). May I send you my blessing and my sincerest wishes and prayers that a happier time may dawn upon your oppressed race. You are indeed martyrs for Christ's sake.

I am very glad that Mr. Douglas and Mr. Buxton are able to attend. I am away from London at present.

With all fraternal greetings,

Yours very sincerely,

(*Signed*) A. F. LONDIN

## INDIAN MOSLEMS, THE TURK AND THE CHRISTIAN RAYAH.

BY THE KHWAGA KEMAL-UD-DIN, IMAM OF THE MOSQUE, WOKING.

THE spirited article which appeared in the last number of the CHRISTIAN EAST, from the pen of the Rev. John A. Douglas, in which he brings my two books, *India in the Balance* and *The House Divided*, under his passionate, but at the same time, I must admit, somewhat generous review, concludes with a Questionnaire consisting of seven questions, to which I am asked to answer "yes" or "no."

This novel method of cross-examination is more suitable for a Court of Law, where personal and individual affairs are under investigation, than for the pages of a journal, especially when questions of far-reaching political consequence are in issue.

Before I reply to the questions, I may say that all the references and authorities with which the writer arrays his article for the condemnation of the Turks in their rule of their Christian subjects does not shake the Moslems in their firm conviction as to the end and object—propaganda pure and simple—which has produced most of the literature alluded to in the article. The cold-blooded silence and equanimity of the Western nations which remained unperturbed at the recent brutal vandalism in the Turkish homeland; and the persistent refusal of the allies to publish the reports of the Commissions on the Greek brutalities, together with their eagerness to trumpet forth the entirely fictitious murder of the ten thousand Greeks, indicate clearly enough the psychology which has prompted the writers in the West to vilify their political enemies.

The burning of Smyrna is a case in point. It was actually yet another instance of Greek savagery, as English eye-witnesses can prove, and yet no stone was left unturned to make the charge good against the Turk.

I am, however, willing to take up the gauntlet thrown down by the Rev. John A. Douglas. It is a thankless task, no doubt, but well worth undertaking if it leads to any good. But it is not only a thankless task, for, in my opinion, such an attempt would only aggravate the situation and create bitter feeling among the parties concerned. It would stultify the very object which induced me to write those two books, which I am glad to find have been appreciated.

My object was to create some better understanding and sweeter relations between the Christians and Moslems under British rule. This alone can now secure the stability of that rule in India where the horizon is growing overcast and very dark. My learned critic would have done a world of good to the cause, which I believe must be at his heart, as it is at mine, if he had spared his readers all the references

(and his inferences therefrom) in which he has indulged. Recrimination is no sound policy where reconciliation is needed. Dictation is out of question when allegiance has reached breaking point.

Islam, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is admittedly noble and good enough to survive and progress; and I believe the same to be true of that religion which was originally and exclusively taught by Jesus. They are one and the same, and come from one Source. The peace of the world now depends upon the working of the two, hand in hand. The recent trouble in Kenya will never recur if the Christian element in British East Africa cares to be truly Christian or Moslem. I would go further, and say that it would add to the permanence and stability of British rule in India and other Moslem lands, if the officers commissioned to govern would only try to know more of Islam and Moslem feelings. Moslems, in my opinion, are the only people in the world with whom religion of itself carries weight. Islam teaches fellow-feeling, respect, and recognition of others' rights, and susceptibilities in matters civic, social and religious; and if there be any cause for complaint on this score, then, appeal to Moslems in the name of the Qur'an; but give up all "diplomatic" methods in your dealings with them (for Moslems regard diplomacy as one with hypocrisy) and then you can secure all your honest objects.

Deal with Turkey in the same way and the whole Moslem world is with you.

Now I come to the questions proposed by Mr. Douglas. These are more or less questions involving political considerations of a far-reaching character. The Moslems of the world cannot support any Turkish action which is contrary to the Moslem law based on the Qur'an and the Sayings of the Prophet; but they will not acquiesce in any Moslem Government which may be used by their political enemies as a cat's-paw to achieve their political ends. Some of the questions, indeed, hardly come within the province of religious obligations. No Moslem woman can marry a non-Moslem. Would Mr. Douglas and his friends agree to the British Government here in England recognising a marriage in this country solemnised according to the Moslem rite, and in a place not coming within the purview of the Act concerned, even when the parties are Moslems?

He must know that such marriages are not recognised in this country, and that Moslem children, though the issue of lawful wedlock under Moslem law, are treated as illegitimate for the purpose of inheritance.

Would Mr. Douglas insist upon the British Government repealing the Indian Successionate Act of 1858, which was enacted for the benefit of the Indian converts to Christianity contrary to the provisions of the Moslem and Hindu Laws?

Would my friends, in the true spirit of their religion, help us to ask the Indian Government not to enforce the self-created customary law against Shariat in cases where the parties are Moslems? This would save the country from the plague of litigation in which we have become involved since the establishment of the British rule in India.

Would Christian influences here help us to banish drink from India on the ground that it is contrary to Islam? Even the Hindus are with us in our "dry" campaign. But if those influences are not to be allowed to interfere with certain policies of British rule, can we not also be excused from interfering on the same ground?

To be a Turkish subject, and not to come under the jurisdiction of the Turkish court, is contrary to the spirit of Islam; and I am afraid we cannot see eye to eye with Mr. Douglas on this point.

As to the first four questions, I may say that the Indian Moslems will not support anything in Turkey which goes against the teachings of Islam.

The Shariat based upon the Qur'an must form the basis of the law in a Moslem State and the State Courts of Moslem lands must decide every case according to it.

There is no penalty against apostasy in Islam, as I have shown elsewhere, on the authority of the Qur'an and *Hadis*. The Turkish rule will bow to the Qur'an if the rulers be approached in a manner dissociated from political intrigue. Islam, alone of all the religions of the world, clearly preaches and emphasises freedom of conscience and personal judgment, and I see no reason why a Moslem country should object to the preaching of any religion; but perhaps my learned adversary is unaware that missionaries are suspect in the East as pioneers of Western domination; they are, indeed, taken as semi-political officers, who are more interested in bringing other nations under the nation they belong to, than under Jesus.

This impression is one of the chief causes of the failure of foreign missions—for they are and will be a failure, It may or may not be a right impression, but it is universal in the East. If, in the circumstances, certain Moslem countries are disposed to close their doors against such folk, they are not going against Islam.

To convert a minor to any religion is a mere farce and mockery. Why blame the Turk, when we know much worse things of the mission work in India? The kidnapping of children, for example, by the missionaries is not an unheard-of thing.

These questions and answers will not help us to solve the problem before us. The British Government must overhaul its own ethics of government, and its foreign policy in regard to Islam. Diplomacy should give place to a straightforward system, as, in the end, it must.

I wish to assure the readers of these pages that the Qur'an has promulgated the best code of ethics, and that Moslems are, of all

nations, the most submissive to religion. Some of the demands of the Allies to which Turkey has not, as yet, agreed, are absolutely consistent with Islamic teachings, and it would be no difficult matter to bring Turkey round to them, if she was assured, in clear terms, of the absolute non-interference of the Allies in her internal affairs.

The whole trouble has arisen from the fact that various nationalities under Turkish rule have been used as instruments by certain of the European powers to the detriment of Turkey.

***Editor's Note.***—We have satisfaction in printing the above article because it is written courteously and kindly in response to the following Questionnaire appended by the Rev. J. A. Douglas to an article which appeared in our March issue under the same title :—

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Does the Khwagah deny that the Shariat must form the basis of the law of a Moslem State? And that the State Courts of Moslem lands must decide every case according to it?
2. Will the Indian Moslems insist that the Turks shall proclaim the right of a Moslem to apostasise from Islam and that they shall guarantee that such apostasy receive no punishment?
3. Will they insist that Christians shall be free in Turkey to evangelise Moslems?
4. Will they insist that Turkish Law shall prohibit the conversion to Islam of a minor? And, on a Christian child becoming a Moslem, shall prohibit its being taken from its parents?
5. Will they insist that a Moslem woman shall be free to marry a non-Moslem?
6. Will they insist that in Turkey non-Moslems shall have their own schools?
7. Will they insist that in Turkey non-Moslems shall have their own law courts?

The point of this Questionnaire was to ascertain whether the Indian Moslems, for whom the Khwagah speaks, are prepared to insist that the Turks should do as above, and whether, failing their doing so, the Indian Moslems would wash their hands of the Turks. We regret that he did not answer the questions *seriatim* and must leave our readers to judge whether his answers amount, as we take them, to a refusal to apply any pressure whatever, his justification being that British governmental policy is anti-Moslem. We point out, however, that Mr. Douglas's contentions were : as to question (2) that there is a penalty in Turkey to-day for apostasy ; as to question (4) that Turkish Law does admit the conversion to Islam of Christian children and enforces their being taken from their parents ; as to (6) and (7) that Christian children are being forced into Moslem schools and that, the Shariat being the basis of the new Turkish code, Christian marriages, etc., are to be tried on Moslem principles.

## THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE ORTHODOX.

*(Communicated by a Polish official, a member of the Roman Church.)*

AT the end of the Great War there were large tracts of country along the borders of Poland, inhabited by a mixed population of Catholics and Orthodox, in which the Orthodox clergy had entirely disappeared, having left at the same time as the Russian retreat in 1915. Thus, in the governments of Cholm and Podlachia where the Orthodox population numbered 150,000 souls there remained not a single Priest of the Greek Church. There the reconstituted Polish State made its first endeavour to revive the religious life of its orthodox subjects. From 1919 onwards a considerable number of parishes were formed of four to five thousand inhabitants each ; they were given to the Orthodox Priests as the latter gradually found their way back from Russia. In places where the parishioners exceeded these numbers, or else in small villages and hamlets, which were too far from the parish Churches, curacies were established, Government assigning a certain fixed stipend to the incumbents as well as, in rural districts, plots of land and authorising Priests to charge certain fees for some of the religious offices. This work of re-organisation continued until 1921, and extended over the districts of Bialystok, Bielsk and Sokolka. In the other eastern provinces of Poland the Orthodox Church emerged from the war without injury and loss and here the Polish Government maintains

the integral number of parishes, having taken under its charge Orthodox Priests whose cures amount to three thousand souls. Smaller parishes are treated as Curacies and do not receive any stipend from the Government.

A bill for the settlement on a uniform basis of the income of the Orthodox clergy as well as of the amount of land to be assigned to them is in course of preparation and will be brought before the Diet as soon as the *Greek* Church in Poland is finally established.

The Orthodox population in Poland amounts to about three millions, and consists ethnologically of Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and White *Ruthenians*. The *Russians* form a very small fraction.

The re-establishment of the Polish State within frontiers definitely fixed by the Peace of Riga cut in two towards the East several of the old Exarchies (Sees), and rendered necessary a remodelling of the organisation of the Church within the limits of the frontiers.

Poland comprises at the present time the following Exarchies: 1. Warsaw-Cholm; 2. Volhynia; 3. Grodno, 4. Pinsk Nowogrodek; 5. Vilna.

In adopting the autokephalic *régime* the Church in Poland has followed the example of the Orthodox Slav, the Roumanian, Greek and other Churches. Autonomous development under the protection of the Polish State, will enable the Church to devote her labours to promoting the spiritual work of her pastors and seminarists. This independence and liberty of action are the principal reasons which have led to a separation from Moscow. They are doubly valuable to-day. For the Czarist *régime* which since the times of Peter the Great had reduced the liberty of the Church to the narrowest limits has disappeared. But after a short interval in 1917, which saw the re-establishment of the ancient Patriarchate, it has been followed by a harsher and more dangerous tyranny. If Czarism tried to transform the Russian clergy into an army of closely surveyed officials the tendency of Bolshevism has been to destroy the Church herself. Separation has preserved the Orthodox *Greek* Church in Poland from the tremendous shocks which have overwhelmed her sister. Establishment of autokephalic rule serves, no doubt, the interests of the Polish State, but here the interests of Church and State are identical.

Poland has no intention to turn religious questions to political account. The country holds fast, as it has always done, to the principle of religious toleration and equal protection for all confessions. For the last two hundred years of its existence as independent power it has had to put up with incessant interference on the part of Czarism which professed an eager desire to protect the interests of the Orthodox Church. Poland has no wish to see the Bolshevists, or their successors, playing the same part.

It was gradually and by successive stages that the constitution of the autokephalic Church was formed. On the strength of a demand made by the Orthodox Bishops of Poland, the first Patriarch of new Russia, Tikhon, constituted first this Church into an Exarchate and appointed Archbishop George, who administered the See of Warsaw-Cholm,

Metropolitan of Poland, 17th January, 1922. The latter soon after convened the first Synod of Orthodox Bishops in Warsaw, January 27th–30th, 1922, who discussed " the provisional regulations " which were submitted to the Government and defined, comformably with the constitutional laws of the Republic, the mutual relationship between Church and State. The regulations were drawn up in agreement with the Metropolitan, approved by the Synod, which declared that they contained nothing contrary to the canons, and were published the 16th February, 1922. They remain in force until the passing of a definite law. They fill up a serious gap and render the position of the Greek Church in Poland more stable.

The crisis through which the Russian Church has passed since the beginning of 1922, the *deposition* of Archbishop Tikhon, the convocation by the Soviet authorities of a supreme ecclesiastical Council of Bishops, Priests and Laymen to take his place contrary to all Canon Law, has rendered the constitution of separate Church government in Poland a matter of greater urgency ; for it became impossible to acknowledge the authority of the Supreme Council. As early as May, 1922, a Synod of Orthodox Bishops assembled at Poczajow, decided to break with Moscow, and the Synod of Warsaw, 13th–14th June, voted with a majority for the autokephalic government of the Church of Poland. The Bishops Vladimir of Grodno and Eleuthère of Vilna entered a protest against the opinion of the Synod and demanded that the whole question should be submitted anew to the General Congress of Clergy and Laity, but their claim was disallowed as being contrary to the Canons of the Eastern Church. Article 37 of the Apostolical Rule recognises the Synod of Bishops as the sole Canonical body able to decide on questions of supreme importance for the Church. The Œcumenical Synods (I Œcum. Synod Canon 5; IV Synod Canon 9; VII Synod Canon 6) pronounced the same decision. The *General Congress* in which all the Clergy and Laymen take part, although appealing to modern democratic ideas, is *deprived* by canonical law (Apostol. rule Art. 36) of all authority as regards matters of supreme importance. Questions of autokephalic governments, as history teaches us, are within the competence of the Synod of Bishops. The Synod of Nauplia in 1836, for instance, thus established the Church in Greece. The *Archbishop of Vilna, Eleuthère caused some trouble in the Othodox Church of Poland.* As he refused to submit to Archbishop George who has been legally instituted Metropolitan of Poland by the Patriarch, he was tried by the Holy Synod of Poland, assembled at Warsaw, and deposed the 6th September, 1922.

## NEW FIRE.

EASTER in Jerusalem is marked by one of the most interesting survivals of primitive religious practice, not only in the Church but in the whole world. This, the kindling of the Holy Fire, is well known, but its importance in the study of Comparative Religion is little appreciated.

The rite is, shortly, as follows:—In the centre of the area under the dome of the Holy Sepulchre Church is a *ka'aba* or four-square "house," resembling closely the description given of the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. All lights are extinguished and the church is in almost complete darkness when the Patriarch enters this inner shrine to kindle the New Fire of the Resurrection year. He passes out a torch lit with this new fire; the faithful thrust forward their candles to light them thereat, and almost instantaneously the whole building is ablaze with light. Meanwhile, a select band of runners set out to race, each with a bunch of lighted candles, to Bethlehem. The one who arrives first has the privilege of lighting the lamps in the Grotto of the Nativity. That is to say, the Fire-lighting is followed by what was known in the ancient Greek world as a *lampadophoria*.

A typical example of these torch-races, which belong to the earlier strata of Hellenic religion, may be cited from Argos.[1] Danaus, the King—his name recalls the *dais* or torch—had fifty daughters. Prophecy foretold that his son-in-law should kill him, so he arranged with his daughters (who were all married on the same day) that they should slay their husbands in the one night. Forty-nine complied, but one had pity and spared Lynceus. He escaped to Lyrcea, a little village in the hills above Argos, and waved a torch as a signal of his safety. In memory of this happening the Argives annually extinguished all fires and the young men raced from Lyrcea with torches to rekindle the City hearth.

The parallel legend of Kabiritic Lemnos carries us a step nearer the origin of the Argive myth. The Ægean mother-goddess (Aphrodite among the Olympians) visited Lemnos, but was received rudely by the women. As a punishment she made their breath smell and their menfolk consequently deserted them for women from the mainland. To revenge themselves for this infidelity, the Lemnian women conspired and in one night slew all their husbands. One man alone escaped—Thoas, the King, who, by the fidelity of his daughter, was shut up in a chest and launched upon the sea. Like the Argive Perseus (the son of Danaë) who afterwards slew the dragon, Thoas reached a place of safety and rose to eminence at Chersonesos. In his original kingdom his escape was commemorated by an annual putting out of fires for nine days. On the tenth they were relighted with new fire from the central sanctuary, at Delos, of the confederation to which Lemnos, in later times, belonged. One may suspect, however, that in the days before the Athenian rule the "King's Fire" was not brought from an external source.

At Athens the city hearth was kindled annually by a torch-race starting from the altar of Prometheus in the outer Ceramicus, an association which recalls the connection of the Titan, prince of the old order, with the greatest of human blessings, fire. Prometheus is *the* Kabir of Thebes, that is to say, the head of the local Kabiritic triad, formed by himself, his wife Axio-thea, and his son Deucalion, the Noah

[1] The references for authorities on Greek and Latin customs may be obtained from any good classical Dictionary, *e.g.*, Darenberg and Saglio.

of Greek legend, and it should not be forgotten that fire comes into the Biblical traditions first as a memorial of the cosmic boundary, the Covenant of Peace after the Flood. (Gen. viii, 20.)

At Rome the fire-kindling retained its primitive form until the end. At the end of the Latin year the sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished and on March 1st the King Priest solemnly relit it. The Vestals then proceeded to bake the sacred *mola salsa*, the cake used in the magical fertility rites of the new year. We are now reaching the primitive form of the ceremonial and the primitive concept, for we find both of immemorial antiquity in the time of Jeremiah (B.C. 600).

> Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the broad-places of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough to make cakes unto the Queen of Heaven?
> (Jeremiah. vii, 17, 18.)

We get a vivid picture of this fertility rite (Jer. xliv, 18). The tribal Patriarch works his fire-drill, the children are the sticks of the family hearth, the mothers make the sacramental bread—a simple little drama of the cyclic Law and Order, a covenant in which man's part is the due observance of the sacrificial meal of the common life.

The more ritualisic and mystic kindling of the New Fire was a regular feature of the pagan rites of the Arabian border in early Christian times. Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51) describes the birth of the son of the goddess Ka'abou in the sacred cave at Petra. The priest entered alone at the turn of the year (the winter solstice) and re-issued with a torch. The worshippers shouted, "The Virgin hath conceived, light is born," and the festival was known as "Light-Increase."

In Mecca there is still a *Ka'aba*, more famous than the inner shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, the service of which, however, bears traces of the same original connection with the cosmic boundary. First, the faithful make ritual processions round this Holy House, just as the Christians do at Jerusalem, but there is no culminating ceremony. Then they race to a place called *Qos* (Rainbow, *i.e.*, the celestial "bound which the waters shall not pass") where the fires are kindled, but without any mystic associations, at any rate, officially.

But even greater importance than this reformed survival of ancient cult-practice attaches to the parallel Mosaic ordinance of the Day of Atonement, when we couple it with the Passover cakes and the lamb set aside on the tenth day of Nisan. On the Day of Atonement (the tenth of the new year as at Lemnos) the High Priest entered the inner shrine alone. Why? Because, we are told, "strange fire" had been offered (Lev. xvi, 1). There is at least one instance of the King attempting to do this in later times (2 Chron. xxvi, 16), and in the parallel case of Korah's destruction the Holy Fire is a boundary between dead and living (Num. xvi, 48). Are we not therefore justified in deducing an original fire use on what was subsequently a day of approach to the Eternal King whose fire was never quenched? For the national fire is the King's fire under such constitutional theory as we find indicated at Lemnos and Rome, and the parallel Eastern use (as in ancient Persia

and modern Damaraland)[1] was not to extinguish the fire annually but at the King's death. Hence the dating by regnal years which passed into general European practice.

Lastly, we may note the doctrinal significance of the Easter Holy Fire at Jerusalem. The rite could not have existed there in Maccabean times and is, therefore, imported from outside Judæa since A.D. 70—either by the heathen opponents of Judaism or by the Christians when, under Helena and Constantine, Jerusalem became a Christian City. In either case it is a dramatic and objective demonstration of the opening of the shut-up shrine. Light is come into the world with the Child of the Woman and at His Resurrection each year the Light bursts forth anew until the same four-square "Abode of God" shall swell to cover the City and all things created. "And there shall be night no more; and they need no light of lamp, neither light of sun; for the Lord God shall give them light; and they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xxii, 5). Easter morn is the type of the Day that has no end—the Life which needs no renewal, but is eternal and manifested unto men.

C. E. DOUGLAS, S.F.

## THE RHIZARION COLLEGE IN ATHENS.

GREECE is not, and has never been, rich in colleges for the education of the priesthood. A great deal of that was left to the monasteries to carry out, and was accomplished by them, so far as the religious training went, in a very successful manner. For, throughout the dark period of the Turkish Domination, the monasteries became almost the only centre of Greek learning for all classes. In their cloistered safety the monks were able to pursue the study of the wonderful manuscripts contained in many of the historic old monasteries over the East and in Greece proper.

The Rhizarion College, as its name indicates, was founded in the last century by a certain Rhizaris, an Epirote, and therefore a man devoted to the spread of education. He was one only of the band of patriotic Greeks who have founded and generously supported the institutions of all descriptions of which the modern state of Greece can boast.

The Rhizarion is situated on the great Avenue Kephisia, in that beautiful open space of country which stretches away to the north-west behind the royal palace in the direction of Mt. Hymettos. Outside there is not much to be seen except for a great length of high wall, broken in one part by the massive door of oak with its iron grating through which the porter inspects callers at the Seminary. Just inside, however, there is a paved courtyard, and beyond that a lovely garden with some glorious trees in it of a great age. There is a group of black-robed cypresses that, under the marvellous blue sky of Attica, look blue-black in the shadow. One always meets with them in Greece round the churches, or in the cemeteries. What a view there is of the old grey mountain, Hymettos, scarred and purple-veined, behind the

[1] Frazer, *Magic Art*. II. p. 212, *ff*.

Byzantine cupola of the chapel of dull red flanked by its sentinel cypresses. . . . So the picture, in retrospect, returns to me of that old-world garden, on that lovely spring day in "violet-crowned Athens."

The venerable Principal of the important Ecclesiastical College for youths was then Bishop Nectarios Kephalas, once Bishop of Pentapolis in Cyreniaca. He was altogether a charming man; one of those shining lights, I should call him, of the Church whose life and example has contributed in no small measure towards maintaining the influence of the Church among the people. He had spent many years among the Greek Orthodox of Egypt and the East.

Under his efficient rule the Rhizarion became not only the most important religious seminary in the country, but it also provided an excellent education, both secular as well as religious, for those who, at the end of their time there, decided that they had no vocation for the priestly life.

The boys are admitted as early as seven years old, and go through the full public school course, in addition to the fuller religious grounding preparatory to a priest's life.

The discipline is of the strictest, and the life is modelled largely on the monastic pattern, including the number and strictness of the fasts observed. These fasts include a four-weeks' fast before Christmas, six weeks before Easter, a period before the Feast of the Holy Apostles, and another before the Feast of Our Lady in August, besides the one-day fasts scattered throughout the year.

The grounds, which are large and spacious, afford enough room for recreation of every description, and there, no doubt, the boys give themselves up to games and other pastimes of their age.

But when they appear in the streets of Athens, walking sedately two by two in solemn procession, the younger ones heading it, they make a picture indeed, in their flowing black gowns and caps, with their curling locks just tied back by a black ribbon, as, from the moment they enter the College, they are obliged to let their hair grow long. In appearance they belong to a bygone generation of centuries ago, especially if the passer-by happens to catch a glimpse of them walking or standing under the mighty columns of the ruined Temple of Jupiter, as I have seen them again and again, their black-robed figures in sombre relief against the glowing rust and yellow and ivory tints of the marbles.

Perhaps their best setting, and one more in keeping with them, is their own chapel at the services which I was privileged to attend during Passion Week. At five o'clock every evening, beginning on Palm Sunday, they read and chanted the beautiful offices of the day. Their voices filled the church with the sweetness of the hymn, "Behold, there comes the Heavenly Bridegroom." There was no harshness in the tone, chanted in a minor key, of "Thy Passion, to-day, O Christ," with its infinite pathos.

Each day has its special Troparion. On Tuesday, for instance, there is the singing, at the end of the service, of the Troparion composed by the Nun Cassiani in the early centuries, the nun who wrote the exquisite

little hymn called after her, that beautiful religious poem full of the yearnings of a broken and a contrite heart for the peace of Our Lord's forgiveness.

In this land, where the imagination is so deeply stirred by outward symbols, there came to one the startling feeling of reality in the words we had just heard, as we stepped into the " cloudy and moonless night of the world of sin " from out of the warm and sheltered atmosphere of this house of prayer.

A scene more truly beautiful and more deeply religious than the one in the church on the evening of Good Friday would be hard to imagine, I believe, anywhere. The lights and shadows made by the flickering of the oil lamps and wax candles upon the austere faces of the Byzantine eikons and rich carvings of the Rood Screen ; the bier with the epitaphios under its mass of flowers in the middle of the church ; the melodious and unearthly beauty of the music of the Epitaphios Threnos resounding throughout the church. Then the procession afterwards of the clergy, with the Bishop at their head bearing the flower-laden bier, to the soft chanting of the choir, holding, like the congregation, lighted tapers as they threaded their way round the dark paths of the seminary precincts into the church again. It was unsurpassed even by the gorgeous setting of the midnight service, at which were proclaimed the gladsome tidings of the " Christos Aneste " in an atmosphere entirely different, and one befitting the joyous and festive occasion of the Resurrection Feast.

EUPHROSYNE KEPHALA.

## CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

OUR present issue is one-third larger than our normal. That is *not* because we are in financial peace, but because of what we felt it opportune to publish. Even so, we hold over extraordinarily interesting matter till our August number—this year we issue in March, May and August, so as to begin 1924 in January. Those of our readers who see fit may show their appreciation of our prodigality by ordering a second copy of this issue and passing it on to a friend with insistent entreaty to become one of our subscribers. Another 500 and we could increase our elbow-room and be 64 pages a number. We should like to be a *monthly*.

* * * *

Born in 1868, educated first at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople and the Theological School of the Cross in Jerusalem, and then, at the expense of Queen Olga of Greece, in Kiev and Petrograd, a Professor at Jerusalem in 1895, ordained Deacon and Priest there in 1900, moving first to Alexandria in 1910, and then to be Principal of the Rhizarion at Athens [*see* Miss Kephala's Article, p. 94] in 1911, elected to be Metropolitan of Athens on March 8th (O.S.) 1923, consecrated Bishop and enthroned the next day—these are the salient dates in the official biography of him who is well known to us in England as the Archimandrite Papadopoulos. Behind that Table, however, lies a world of

activity, of Christian zeal and scholarly labour, which leads us to rejoice in the choice made by the Synod of Athens. The new Metropolitan is fitted by courage, ability and devotion to be the helmsman of the Church of Greece. That he is a close personal friend of the Œcumenical Patriarch, knows England and is in sympathy with the Anglican Church, must be a cause of great hope and satisfaction to us all.

Dr. Wigram, the Athens Legation Chaplain who was given a prominent place at the Metropolitan's Consecration, has recently paid a visit to Athos. Few professional publicists have his human touch, and we look forward to reading the impression of the Monks' Mountain which, we gather, he will contribute to the *Church Times*. By the way, we give all our readers preliminary advice to read Dr. Wigram's *The Separation of the Monophysites*. It is a great book.

Bishop Gore, the Chairman of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, left London on April 27th for a twelve weeks' visit of study to Prague, Budapest, Belgrad, Sofia, Bukharest and Constantinople. The Rev. Harold Buxton will be his companion in the later stages of his travels. Of course, the observer will imagine that his lordship has gone East in order to arrive at this or that arrangement. In fact, though, doubtless, he will discuss many matters with his hosts, his journeying is motived simply by a desire to acquire first-hand knowledge of the Orthodox Church. He has kindly promised to contribute his impressions to the CHRISTIAN EAST. He reached Belgrad on May 6th.

From April 20th to April 25th Mr. H. N. Brailsford and the *Daily Herald* were in the seventh heaven. The former had read the Soviet's *Pravda* of March 18th, and, not finding in it the words quoted from the *Times* of March 19th, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other religious leaders, had taken occasion to lecture them roundly. The Bolshevik was no persecutor. Religious opinion was free in Russia. The Archbishop, in his simplicity, had been a tool of designing persons. The *Daily Herald* rose to the opportunity of confusing the issue. "Sequel to the Exposure of the Pravda Forgery," it shrieked. "Persecution of Religion in Russia! What has the Archbishop to say now?" And sending messages to the signatories of His Grace's Protest, it prepared for a lengthened general whitewashing of the Bolsheviks. A circular was prepared and sent round to the Clergy, proclaiming how our simple Archbishop had been trapped by the politicians. Then flat, very flat, went the balloon. On April 25th the Archbishop's Chaplain, the Rev. G. K. A. Bell, wrote a letter which—though it pushed it in a corner—the *Daily Herald* needs must publish. Mr. Brailsford had read a bit of *Pravda*. But the quotation was correct. He would find it in the issue of March 16th. Neither Mr. Brailsford nor the *Daily Herald* have had the good sense to make a complete apology! If they had made a clean breast, we could have found it easy to have been sorry for them.

We have no words in which to express our feelings on hearing, as we go to press, of the death of Prof. P. Komnenos of Halki. We loved the man for himself. He was so straight, so mirthful, so simple, so afire with zeal for all his personal restraint, and withal so good, so learned

and so wise. We shall miss him sorely in these next few years. He has left us, however, his *pignus amoris* and a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί on Anglican Ordinations, a translation of the body of which—not of the long important appendices—appeared in our issue of September, 1921, which is still obtainable of the A. and E.A. That little monograph will find its place in the library of the Anglican-Orthodox student and of the worker for Reunion so long as such libraries be. In the words of a notice in the *Church Times*, " He laboured for the peace of God's Church. And in God's peace may he find rest! "

The death of the Rev. J. A. V. Magee recalls the fact that, upon the verge of the illness which ended in death, he wrote the lines which, printed in the *Church Times* of September 29th, 1922, showed the sympathy of a singularly affectionate nature with the tragedy of the Christians of the Seven Churches. They are worth preserving here :—

Lo, by the Eastern waters there are falling
Tears of a nation stricken unto death ;
Faintly we hear far distant voices calling
Still to the Churches what the Spirit saith.

Those who, in dying, did not faint or falter,
Fruit of Thine agony and bloody sweat,
Shall we not plead their passion at Thine altar ?
Lord, Thou rememberest, and can we forget ?

Mr. Arthur Boutwood supplies us with an admirable illustration of the affinity of the ancient Celtic Churches with the East. In a collection of ancient Irish verse, made by Mr. Douglas Hyde, the translation, " Mary pray *for* us," should be " Mary, pray *with* us."

* * * *

This letter will interest our readers :—

I am very grateful for the great honour bestowed upon me by electing me as the Honorary Vice-President of the A. & E.C.A., whose aims I share with all my resolution and whose activities I appreciate with thanks to God, who blesses the Christian works of its worthy participants. I am prepared to serve in the bounds of my limited strength as much as the circumstances of my life in exile will allow me to do so.

With profound respect,

1923. 28. 2. I am, Yours faithfully,
Zemun, Cetinska, 14. N. GLUBOKOVSKY.

## A PASTORAL OF THE PATRIARCH TIKHON.

*This Pastoral letter, issued by the Patriarch to the Russian Nation, will be full of interest to our readers. Our translation is made from the Belgrad Novoye Vremya of 6th April, 1923.*

" THE hidden root of our malady, of our distress and of our misfortunes, is to be found there—in the sin which presses heavily down upon us. It is sin that has made our land corrupt, that has made weak the power, alike of soul and body, of the men of Russia. It is sin that has brought it to pass that, in the words of the prophet, the Lord has taken away from us " the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread . . . the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, and the prudent and the ancient " (Isaiah iii, 1–3). Sin has darkened the under-

standing of our nation and, lo! we " grope in the dark without light and stagger like a drunken man " (Job xii, 25). Sin has kindled far and wide the flame of the passions, enmity and malice; brother has armed himself against brother; the earth is drunken with innocent blood shed by a brother's hand, and is defiled with violence, spoliation, lechery and every filthiness.

" From this same poisoned fount of sin has issued the supreme seduction of sensual earthly goods to which, forgetting the one thing needful, our nation has yielded itself. We have not renounced that temptation, as Christ, the Saviour, rejected it in the wilderness. We desired to establish heaven on earth—but without God and without His holy covenants. God is not mocked. And so we go famished and parched and naked, and the seal of the curse rests upon the toil of our nation and upon every undertaking of our hands. Sin—grievous, unrepented sin—has summoned Satan from the abyss, spewing forth blasphemy against the Lord and against His Christ, and stirring up persecution against the Church.

" Ah! who shall give fountains of tears to our eyes that we may weep for our disasters and for those things which are begotten of our national sins and of our abandonment of the divine law—the dimming of the glory and the lustre of our fatherland, the beggary of our country, its destitution of spirit, the ruin of its towns and villages, the desecration of its temples and holy things, all that astounding self-destruction of a great nation which has made it the amazement and the by-word of the whole world,

" Where art thou, who once wast powerful and sovereign, thou Russian, thou Orthodox nation? Can it be that thou hast altogether outlived thy strength? Thou who, like a giant, high of soul and joyous, didst run the great course appointed for thee on high, and didst proclaim peace and love and justice to all men? And now thou dost lie there humbled in the dust, trodden under foot by thy foes, burning in the fire of sin, of thy lusts and of fratricidal hatred! Wilt thou not be born again of the Spirit and arise speedily again in thy might and thy glory? Can it be that the Lord has stopped the fountains of life for thee for ever? That He has quenched thy creative force to chastise thee as the unfruitful fig tree? May that never be! The thought alone plunges us in trembling fear.

" Then weep, dear brethren, my children who abide faithful to your Church and native land, weep for the great sins of your fatherland, before it perish utterly. Weep for yourselves and for those who, through their hardness of heart, have not the grace of tears. Rich and poor, wise and simple, old and young, maidens and infants, join together, clothe yourselves in sackcloth as did the men of Nineveh and beseech the mercy of God for His pity upon and His salvation of Russia."

* * * * * * *

It is for such a pastoral and for such a prayer as the following prayer, issued during the famine, that the Soviet hopes to obtain the acquiescence of the world in its decision to put the Patriarch Tikhon to death.

" To Thee, O Lord, does our distressed land address its lamentation. Spare and forgive. To Thee, the All-good, does Thy sinful people lift up its hands and prayer. To Thee belongs our life. To Thee goes forth our hope."

## THE BITTER CRY OF THE GEORGIAN CATHOLICOS

TO Civilised Humanity represented at the Conference of Genoa, Ambrose, servant of God, Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia, in the love of Christ, Greeting!

Even before the Christian era—at the foot of the Caucasus Mountains between the Black Sea and the Caspian—some peoples of Kartvelian origin created a state, small in size, but strong in purpose and gifted with creative ability, known in history by

the name of " Georgia," and this state was, for centuries, the sole pioneer of Christian culture and European humanitarian principles in Hither Asia.

Towards the end of the Eighteenth Century, the Georgian nation, weakened by struggle against external enemies, placed herself, of her own free will, under the protection of her co-religionist—Russia—hoping that this protection would shield her national and political existence ; these motives are clearly set forth in the Treaty concluded in 1795, between Irakly, King of Georgia, and Catherine, Empress of Russia.

Unfortunately, our country, deceived in its hopes, became, for 117 years, part of the Russian bureaucratism, the object of a ruthless despotism and of intolerable oppression.

For this reason, in 1917, soon after the dissolution of the artificial unity of the Russian Empire, the Georgian people proclaimed their independence and immediately set about the reconstruction of their political, national and intellectual existence. Although this work was hindered by external and internal foes, the Georgian nation showed such creative ability and energy that, at the end of three years, Europe recognised her aptitude by offering her a place among independent sovereign States.

Obviously this could not be tolerated by Russia, the former suzerain of Georgia and a State, the oppressor of small nations.

Against the frontiers of Georgia she hurled an invading and occupying army, and on the 25th February, 1921, imposed anew on little blood-bedrenched Georgia a humiliating yoke such as she had never experienced during the course of her centuries-long history.

It is true that the invaders endeavour to prove to all, at home and abroad, that they have liberated and made happy the Georgian nation, but we, her spiritual Father, and at this very moment her sole, true Shepherd, to whose hands are entrusted the most intimate feelings of the heart of this nation and to whom her mourning and grief are unreservedly poured out, we know what happiness is hers ! . . .

We are able to state, without exaggeration, that the senseless experiments of which the Georgian nation has, during the last year, been the object, will inevitably result in physical degeneration and moral degradation.

The nation is deprived of its inheritance, made fruitful by the blood and bones of its ancestors, for it is divided among the foreign invaders. And these same invaders have wrung from the people their means of subsistence won by their sweat and blood—transporting it abroad with unimagined speed ; the people are deported and their mother tongue is profaned, their national culture, created by their ancestors, is trampled under foot ; indeed, the invaders sully everything that the nation holds most sacred —their Faith ; and, while parading the standard of liberty of conscience, do not even allow them to indulge in the free expression of their religious belief.

The clergy are outrageously persecuted, the Church which has, for centuries, been the chief factor in the greatness and power of the Georgian national State, has to-day been deprived of all its rights to such an extent that it does not even retain the possibility of procuring by its labour, industry and capability, permanent means of existence.

In one word, the nation is groaning and mourning ; it is even materially impossible for it to raise its voice.

In these conditions, we consider it our Archipastoral duty to proclaim the following to civilisation :—

We, as representative of the Church of God, do not concern ourselves with the comparative estimation and settlement of the diverse forms of political life, but we cannot but wish for our nation the advent of an order of things which will contribute relatively more to its material re-establishment and to its spiritual development, and we, therefore, demand :—

(i) That the Russian troops of occupation be forthwith withdrawn from Georgian territory and that the Georgian patrimony be secured against all foreign violation, unnatural protectorship and devastation.

(ii) That it be made possible for the Georgian nation to organise its life freely, as it thinks proper, by the establishment of those forms of political and social life which are best suited to its national character, aspirations, customs and culture.

We are strong in the hope that the Very Honourable Conference which has as its self-imposed aim the settlement of the greatest problems of mankind and the establishment of justice and liberty in the world, will not pass over unheeded the fundamental claims of little Georgia, set forth here by us, and that it will deliver her from the humiliating slavery and régime of violence of which she is the victim.

May the Blessing of the Lord rest on you, your generous intentions and your work.

AMBROSIOS, *Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia.*

## AMERICAN LETTER.

ECONOMICAL MINISTRATIONS TO THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS, SYRIANS AND OTHERS.

I THINK that my letter had better be a catena of interesting documents which will illustrate what is going on here.

First, I will give these extracts from the *Memorandum to the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, presented by Gorazd Pavlik, Bishop of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church to the Presiding Bishop and Council, New York City.*

Being conscious that the Episcopal Church is closely related to the new Church which was organised among the Czecho-Slovak people in the year 1920 as the Czecho-Slovak National Church, and encouraged by the friendly and fraternal reception at the hands of the Episcopal Church in America, I take the liberty of presenting to the Presiding Bishop and Council the folllowing Memorandum :—

The Czecho-Slovak Church arose from the withdrawal, in the year 1920, of a certain part of the Czecho-Slovak people from the Roman Catholic Church. This new Church, at its mass-meeting held in Prague on the 8th of January, 1921, rejected both the primacy and the infallibility of the Roman bishops, as well as their religious absolutism and religious mechanism which is ruling the Roman Church.

Dogmatically, this new Church stands, according to the decrees of the ecclesiastical mass-meeting held January 8th, 1921, upon the foundation of the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed, and the Seven Œcumenical Councils. This decree was re-affirmed at the ecclesiastical meeting in Prague, held August 28th, 1921. At this meeting it was also declared that the name of the new Church shall be "The Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church." Further, it was declared that the Church desires to be affiliated with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. In accordance with these basic decisions, the first Bishop was consecrated at the hands of the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church at a session of the Holy Synod of that Church held in Belgrade, September 25th, 1921.

The Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church defines its own liturgy and orders within the limits of autonomy, best befitting the mentality of the Western Europeans. Thus the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church is half-way between the Eastern Orthodox Churches, with whose dogmas it fundamentally agrees, and the Western Episcopal Churches, with which it shares common practices, namely, the Missal or Liturgy in the language of the people, a common confession, and freedom of the clergy to marry.

The spiritual phase of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church is apparent in the awakening of the great masses of the people to a religious life, large attendances at the Divine Services as well as at the Holy Communion, diligent reading of the Holy Scriptures, the moral transformation of their daily life, the cultivation of brotherly love and cheerful sacrifice. There is nothing like it at present in Central and Western Europe. It seems as if the Divine Grace were shed abroad upon the nation

in an extraordinary manner, after centuries of suffering under the yoke of foreign oppression, both political and spiritual.

The young Church has formed at present three dioceses: the Western Bohemian, with a seat in Prague; the Eastern Bohemian, with a seat in Kutna Hora; and the Moravian-Silesian, with a seat in Olomouc, Moravia. But one Bishop has been elected and consecrated, namely, in the diocese of Moravia-Silesia.

The present Bishop, Gorazd Pavlik, came to the United States to establish some congregations among his own people. He was informed, even before coming to the country, that his countrymen in America were passing through a religious crisis, which is apparent in their non-participation in any church life, a religious lethargy and evident atheism. He hopes to counteract this evil by founding Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Parishes. Thanks be to God, he has succeeded in establishing four congregations of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church, through the brotherly co-operation of the Episcopal Church which put at his disposal their church buildings, and gave him the Reverend Robert Keating Smith to accompany him and assist him in his missionary tour.

The four congregations now established and in process of incorporation are in New York City (at present meeting in St. Thomas' Chapel), Perth Amboy, N.J., in Palmerton, Pa., and Masontown, Pa. In these last two places the Czecho-Slovak congregations established since the years 1909 and 1920 as independent Slovak Catholic Parishes, have already each a church edifice and a priest's house. Two more congregations, in McKeesport, Pa., and Monessen, Pa., are in process of organisation. Before the Bishop returns to Czecho-Slovakia, he intends to bid these organised bodies to choose a common ecclesiastical curatorium consisting of half clergy and half laity, who will take upon themselves the cares of Church affairs as well as the future development of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church in America.

Finding the Episcopal Church to be the nearest kin to the young Czecho-Slovak Church, the Bishop desires to present to the Rt. Rev. Presiding Bishop and Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church the following supplications and motions:

*First*, that the Presiding Bishop and Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church enter into a covenant with the hereto subscribed Bishop, concerning the mutual fellowship of both Churches, to the effect that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America be fully authorised to minister religiously to the communicants of the Czecho-Slovak Church in such places where it may be either difficult or impossible to secure a priest of the Czecho-Slovak Church; and, *vice versa*, that the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia be authorised to minister to the communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church where similar difficulties may prevail.

*Second*, that the Presiding Bishop and Council bring about the creation of a commission whose function would be to keep in vital intimate touch with the situation, needs and development of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church, both in Europe and America.

I hope and pray that the Presiding Bishop and Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church will consider this Memorandum favourably, and answer its supplications and motions by taking immediate action thereupon.

The National Council of the American Church made the following answer by Synodical resolution on December 13th, 1922:—

"The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America has received, with pleasure, the Memorandum presented by the Rt. Rev. Gorazd Pavlik, Bishop of the Czecho-Slovak Church, dated 11th December, 1922, which Memorandum was read to the Council at the opening of its regular meeting, held 13th December, 1922, by the President. The Council has watched with interest the re-establishment of the ancient National Church in Czecho-Slovakia, and notes with gratification the statement in the Memorandum that the dogmatic standards

of the newly-organised Church, as set forth in the decrees of the Ecclesiastical Mass Meetings held in Prague in the year 1921, have the same foundation as our own, and that the new Bishop was regularly consecrated by the Serbian Orthodox Church, whose orders we recognise as Apostolic. Our Church has long been concerned for the spiritual welfare of the Czecho-Slovak people in America, such large numbers of whom have been living and bringing up their children without any religious ministrations. It is with a deep sense of responsibility that we receive this expression of Bishop Gorazd Pavlik of his desire for our Church's co-operation in reaching his unchurched people in America, and we earnestly express our desire to do everything in our power to co-operate in this all-important matter. Concerning the first of the specific requests of the Czecho-Slovak Bishop, namely, for the mutual fellowship of our respective Churches, we will communicate with our Bishops in the various Dioceses in which communicants of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church live, and urge them to provide the Sacraments and Pastoral Care for them in such places where it may be either difficult or impossible to secure a priest of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church. And also we will advise the Bishops in the various dioceses to give fraternal co-operation and moral support to the parishes of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church which may be established in America. Moreover, we express our desire that the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church minister in like manner to communicants of our Church visiting or residing in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. In response to the second specific request of the Czecho-Slovak Bishop, the Council has directed its Department of Missions to keep in vital and intimate touch with the situation, needs and development of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church, both in Europe and America."

The American Church has also been approached by the Rumanians in U.S.A. who have taken action, as in this letter, which they have addressed to Dr. Bular, Metropolitan of Sibiu.

YOUR EMINENCE,

A Convention of the priests of the Rumania Orthodox Church, deriving their jurisdiction from the Holy Synod of Rumania and the Consistory of the Archdiocese of the Holy Russian Orthodox Church of North America and the Aleutian Islands, appointed a committee to study the conditions of the Rumanian Church in America and to recommend a plan of organisation and co-operation which would preserve the integrity of the Rumanian Orthodox Church in the face of the disintegrating forces met in American life and establish for it a place among the religious organisations of America.

This committee met in Pittsburgh, State of Pennsylvania, February 21st and 22nd, 1923.

After lengthy discussions this committee found the Church in America in the same position as the autonomous Rumanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania before the happy restoration of all the Rumanian Provinces to the Royal Government, and the present relation of the Episcopal Church in America to the Church of England. It was the strong conviction of all present that the religious bodies in America faced conditions entirely different from those obtaining in the homeland. Property rights and the legal position of clergy are based upon American conditions and American law. Ignorance of these conditions has caused, not merely misunderstanding, but a long succession of law suits, and has often made possible the alienation of property acquired through the labours of members of the Orthodox Church to other religious bodies more skilled in American procedure. This confusion has been the cause of bringing discredit upon the Churches that have courted these sources of discord in American life.

The Committee was strongly convinced—

(1) That unity should be established among the Rumanian priests owing obedience respectively to the Metropolitan of Sibiu and those ordained by the Russian Archbishop;

(2) They believed that the spiritual welfare of the members of the Holy Rumanian Orthodox Church in America depended on their close union and affiliation with the Holy Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church;

(3) That the difficulties frequently arising in parishes and carried to the courts should be avoided, because American tribunals experience great difficulty in passing judgment on matters of ecclesiastical procedure and discipline of foreign Churches.

It was the unanimous agreement of the Committee that the best interest of the Holy Orthodox Rumanian Church, both at home and abroad, would be conserved by the establishment of an autonomous Church in America, which, until a national hierarchy could be created, should turn to the Bishops of the Episcopal Church for ecclesiastical protection and discipline.

The Committee have, therefore, adopted the following resolutions:—

"Whereas the Holy Rumanian Orthodox Church in America suffers through lack of immediate Synodical oversight; and

"Whereas in many communities our members are led astray from the Orthodox Faith by propaganda of Protestant and Roman Catholic bodies; and

"Whereas, prior to the happy restoration of the Rumanian Provinces to the Royal Government, the Rumanian Orthodox Church created the precedent of establishing independent autonomous churches among peoples living under foreign jurisdiction; be it

"Resolved, that we humbly request His Eminence the Metropolitan of Sibiu to take measures to transfer his jurisdiction over members of the Holy Rumanian Orthodox Church in America and authorise the creation of an autonomous Church in the United States of America, provided that such Church retain the doctrine and discipline of the Holy Rumanian Church; and be it

"Resolved, that the autonomous Church thus created be authorised to adopt such constitution and laws as may be in conformity to the canons of the Holy Rumanian Church and the laws and customs of the United States. Such constitution should receive the approval of the Holy Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church.

"Whereas the Patriarch and Holy Synod of Constantinople has acknowledged by Synodical action the validity of the ordination of Bishops, priests and deacons of the Church of England, and by implication those of the Episcopal Church in America; and

"Whereas the Episcopal Church by the statements and actions herein has disclaimed any desire to gain converts from the Churches of the Eastern Orthodox Faith; be it

"Resolved, that the National Council of the Episcopal Church be requested, until such time as an ecclesiastical hierarchy be established in America, to request the Bishops in whose dioceses are found Rumanian Orthodox Churches to take the priests and congregations of such Churches under their ecclesiastical protection, assuming responsibility for discipline of priests and congregations, and performing such episcopal acts as from time to time shall be requested by the Holy Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church."

These arrangements with the Czecho-Slovaks and Rumanians will, doubtless, be notified to the Central Orthodox authorities. But by themselves they are interesting and important acts of economy.

The National Council has also decided to arrange for the care of the Syrians of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (at the request of his representative).

The Assyrians (Nestorians) in U.S.A. have also approached the National Council, as follows :—

Whereas the Assyrian Eastern Nestorian Church has many members scattered throughout America and has been able to establish but few congregations ; and

Whereas, because of the absence of Bishops, there has been no ecclesiastical jurisdiction and many members are drifting from the fold ; be it

Resolved, that we, the Assyrian Eastern Nestorian Clergy, hereby invite the National Council of the Episcopal Church to make proper provision for the episcopal oversight and jurisdiction of Assyrian Eastern Nestorian Christians of America and that the President and Secretary of this meeting be authorised to enter into agreement to this end and affix their signatures to such agreement ; and be it

Resolved, that we commend all members of the Assyrian Eastern Nestorian Church who cannot obtain the ministration of their own priests to place themselves under the care of the nearest priest of the Episcopal Church.

Trusting that Your Eminence may favourably hear this our petition and invoking your blessing,

(*Signed*) Rev. SIMON YONAN, *President.*
Rev. GEORGE AZOO, *Secretary.*
Rev. EMANUEL OUDA.
Deacon EMANUEL JOHN.
Rev. B. ODISHOO.
Ex. MANO OSHANA.
Ex. J. R. ASLAN.
Ex. AZIZ BENJAMIN.
SAM SUMO.

Rev. GEORGE H. THOMAS, St. Paul's, Chicago, Illinois.
Rev. SAMUEL SUTCLIFFE, St. Mark's, New Britain, Conn.

Adopted 28th January, 1923.
Chicago, Illinois.

## CANADIAN LETTER.

MULTITUDES of Russians, Serbians and Czecho-Slavs have settled both in the Prairie Provinces, and across the Rockies, in British Columbia. To a very great extent they are without the ministrations of their own Orthodox Churches, and, to quote the words of a Russian churchman, heard by your correspondent in his little printing office in Winnipeg, where he issues Russian newspapers, devotion books, translations of the Ukrainian liturgy, etc. : " Many of us have tried, since we came out, to be Presbyterians, for that body is most zealous in its efforts to proselytise among us ; but it is not in our Slav blood to be Protestant." The gist of what he said was this : " We of the Orthodox non-Latin Churches can find no place in the Roman Church, which politically has been for generations the active enemy of our race, and, in some things, teaches and practices what we cannot accept ; but on the other hand, Protestantism has no place for us : we are Slavs and Catholics. Your ' High Church ' is Catholic, without being political ; while she gives us the Holy Eucharist and the Scriptures in the vernacular, and the Holy Sacraments in both kinds. Here in Canada, where we are so scattered and have, in many cases, no priest or church, we might well rejoice to find a place with you."

At Winnipeg, the great cosmopolitan capital of the West, there are groups of Orthodox Christians, both Greek and Slav, having a pastor but no church ; some have their little wooden houses on the railway tracks, a somewhat " Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage-Patch " quarter on the outskirts of the Parish of St. Michael and All Angels, the pioneer centre of the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the Prairie Provinces. This was the scene of the devoted ministry of Father Broughall, who fostered the

work through its pioneer stages, and, when compelled by ill-health to resign, left an organised independent parish, with an exquisite church of white stone, the spiritual home not only of its increasing congregation, but of a wider circle of Canadian Catholics scattered over the great Dominion. The work is now in the charge of the Rev. H. Scot Ram, formerly assistant-priest of St. Pancras, London. Two of the fourteen divinity students at present resident in St. John's College, Winnipeg, are from the young men servers of St. Michael's.

At 11.30 on Christmas Eve the church was crowded to its utmost capacity for the midnight Eucharist. In the congregation were several laymen of the Holy Orthodox Church, for their own priest was to occupy a seat in the sanctuary. Those who were privileged to be present will never forget the first Eucharist of the Nativity, which was preceded by a great procession from the High Altar, resplendent with its stone and marble, furnished with Crucifix and tapers. Preceded by thurifer, Cross and lights, the procession passed down the south choir aisle before proceeding to the nave to the singing of "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn," which was led by eight choir-men; behind these walked Father Theodore Migdal, wearing over an alb his Eastern cope and stole of cloth of gold; he was followed by the acting assistant-priest in surplice and cope; lastly came the rector attended by his servers, and wearing the white jewelled cope, presented by early friends of St. Michael's. About 130 Communions were made, and in the singing of "Adeste Fideles" once more did we realise that difficult combination of "heartiness" with devotion, which, as some of our English friends have remarked, after attending Anglo-Catholic Congress services, seems one, and not the least, of the achievements of Anglo-Catholicism.

A casual glance at that crowded and obviously devout congregation, on the part of one who knows St. Michael's well, was enough to prove this fact—that many church people, brought up in the full teaching of their Church, find their way to Winnipeg; and not only do they need St. Michael's but St. Michael's needs them; for, as has before been said, this church and parish is the centre of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, not only for Winnipeg, but for the great Western Provinces. From time to time many settlers of the Home Church come to build up a great nation and, it should be, a great Church. Past experience shows that church people, when commended by their home clergy or friends, will find their spiritual home and fellowship at St. Michael and All Angels', which, if she is to accomplish her work for the Church in the West, needs them with their worship, their work, and their alms.

YOUR CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT.

From the Rev. E. A. L. Donaldson, M.A., Vice-Principal, Queen's College, St. John's, Newfoundland, February 3rd, 1923, to the Editor of the *Church Times*, *Church Times* Office, 7, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, England.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose a short account of the midnight Eucharist at St. Michael and All Angels', Winnipeg, where I have worked both as Priest in Charge, and later as Acting Assistant Priest. It is designed not only to give English readers some idea of the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the Western provinces of Canada, of which all too little is known, but also to make known to that wide circle of your readers interested in the great question of reunion with the East, of a real step, which, as you will see, has been taken in this great continent, where we are more and more faced with the great question, "What can we do for the increasing number of Eastern and Slav Churches in our midst?"

The Rector of St. Michael's has asked me to send you some such contribution.

Trusting you will be able to use it,

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

E. A. L. DONALDSON.

## JERUSALEM LETTER.

THE usual Orthodox Jacobite and Coptic Christmas services took place in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem at midnight on the 6th January. His Beatitude the Patriarch Damianos officiated at the former service, during which the Gospel was intoned in the English language, but in Byzantine plain-song in the actual Grotto of the Nativity.

Among the recent visitors to Palestine has been Bishop Smyth, late of Lebombo, who preached at St. George's on the first Sunday after Epiphany.

An interesting refugee now in Jerusalem is the Archbishop of Pisidia, whose Cathedral city is Adalia. He is, of course, unable to return to his see, whence, indeed, almost all his flock have been banished; and he has, for the time being, taken up his residence in the Orthodox Patriarchate, of whose fraternity he was originally a member. One of his suffragans has been retained in Anatolia and was compelled by the Turks to become a member of the Synod of the *soi-disant* autocephalous Turcophone Orthodox Church in Anatolia.

The usual Lenten lectures have been delivered in the library of St. George's Cathedral. The lectures included a notable discourse on the heresy of Akhnaten by Mr. Phythian-Adams, one on Arian and other controversies by the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Haycraft, on the Armenian Church by Father Israelian of the Armenian Patriarchate, on "Early Pilgrims" by Archdeacon Waddy, on his recent visit to Mount Sinai by the Rev. Dr. Hatch of the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem. Dr. Hatch, who is a priest of the American Episcopalian Church, mentioned in the course of the lecture that on several occasions during his stay at the monastery of Mount Katharine he celebrated the Holy Communion on Jebel Musa and administered the sacrament to several of the monks.

On Sunday, the 18th March, Bishop MacInnes announced to the congregation of St. George's, during Matins, the welcome news of the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox Patriarch and Synod of the Church of Jerusalem.

On the 22nd March the British War Cemetery at Beersheba was consecrated in the presence of His Excellency the High Commissioner, the Chief Justice, and other senior officials of the Palestine Government; the Orthodox Latin and Armenian Patriarchs and Bishop MacInnes participating in the ceremony.

The Rev. Ibrahim Baz Haddad, whose appointment as Honorary Canon of St. George's last year was referred to in one of my previous letters, died at an advanced age on the 23rd March. Canon Baz Haddad had been for over fifty years in Anglican Orders and during the war gave untiring service on behalf of British prisoners of war in Palestine.

## ATHENS LETTER.

### Consecration of the Metropolitan of Athens.

THE consecration of a new Archbishop for Athens, and Metropolitan of the Hellenic Church, brings a difficult chapter in the history of that body to a close, and opens, we may hope, a better day. It may be worth putting the facts on record for the instruction of friends of the Greek Church and nation, as they show how hard it is for a Church which is intensely national to continue so, without being merely political.

The difficulties began in what was a year of stress for Greece—1916. The question of the day was this: Was Greece to be pro-Entente, or was she to try to hold a "neutrality" that could not fail to look pro-German? This caused an open breach between King Constantine and his great minister, Venizelos; blood was shed, Venizelos left for Salonika, and the Church was brought into the quarrel by the

desire of the dominant party that he should be formally excommunicated. This impropriety—for Venizelos was neither " heretic " nor " evil-liver "—was prompted, probably, by the knowledge that the feeling against " our great statesman " was far less strong in country districts than in the capital, and it was just the peasant mind that would be most awed by the act.

The Anathema was accordingly pronounced (December 11th, 1916, O.S.) with all solemnity by the then Metropolitan, Theokletos, acting in concert with his permanent synod, and such English as were then in Athens—for the evacuation had recently taken place—looked on the act with mingled dislike and interest. The dislike was for the act itself, for both they and the cooler-headed among the Greeks felt that to use a solemn church censure as a political weapon was to repeat the blunder of the mediæval Papacy, and that it would result, as in the Pope's case, in the loss of the spiritual power that the censure ought to carry. The interest was for the prehistoric ceremonial involved.[1]

Even the Metropolitan himself felt that the proceeding required explanation, and made the very lame excuse that he was forced to act, by the threat that if he refused the army would burn his Cathedral ! Architectural purists said that his fearfulness had lost a great opportunity, and it must be owned that Greek architects could now —after fifty additional years of study of Byzantine architecture—produce a much finer building than that existing.

A few months saw the inevitable reaction. July, 1917, saw the Venizelists once more in power, King Constantine an exile, and the Metropolitan in process of being called to account for his action. The new government (using its legal power) dismissed the members of the synod with whom the Metropolitan is bound to act, and substituted other episcopal members of it, five in number. The Metropolitan was left in office for the moment, but a new court of thirteen bishops, including the new members of the synod, was erected to try the Metropolitan or any Bishop accused of improper conduct.

This was done by " legislative decree," a procedure that is legal, when Parliament is not sitting, but which requires endorsement at the next session. Naturally, those who desired to " pick holes " in this action could do so.

The court rested on an " *ex post-facto* " law, and it contained members who, coming from the " new " Macedonian provinces of Greece, had not been formally transferred from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople to that of Athens. They had, however, received some sort of permission to act in the matter. All the same, it was felt that no substantial injustice was done when the court ruled that the anathema was improper, and deposed the Metropolitan and those Bishops who had acted with him. The throne of Athens was thus declared vacant, and in March, 1918, the synod elected to it a man who was to have a stormy career, Meletios Metaxakis, Bishop of Kitium in Cyprus. Theokletos' inevitable protest was disregarded.

Very soon, however, the pendulum had swung again. The untimely death of King Alexander, that did so much to disturb European politics, had its effect in the Church also, for the return of Constantine implied the deposition of Meletios. This was done in November, 1920, and in this case a mere government order to vacate the position was held sufficient. Meletios yielded to *force majeure*, but filed his protests, sending one to the Greek government, and one to the Œcumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople. Neither of these had any effect, for that to the government was naturally disregarded, and that to Constantinople seems to have been "pigeon-holed." The synod reported favourably to Meletios, but the Patriarchate was then vacant by the death of Germanos V., and being administered by a locum-tenens; hence

[1] Witnesses declare that the freshly-severed head of a black bull was placed in a square pit, in the Champ de Mars, and the Metropolitan hurled four stones at it, proclaiming " anathema to Venizelos." All the crowd filed past, and did likewise, hurling black stones—on sale on the spot for a trifle,— until a cairn was raised over the place. Venizelists wreathed the cairn with flowers by night, and the other party buried these afresh with stones.—and so on till the game palled. A ceremony dating from neo-lithic times was brought into XXth century atmosphere by being recorded on the Cinema !

nothing was done, and it is doubtful if even a recognised Patriarch could have done much in such a case. Theokletos returned to his throne merely on the strength of a government order that declared his synodical deposition to be void, and had no difficulty in finding legal points to justify such a decision: a "General Synod" of the Hellenic Church, held in December, 1920, recognised Theokletos as lawful Metropolitan. As always, there was a case to be made against its action, the plea in this instance being the fact that the decree was carried by the votes of those Bishops who had previously acted with Theokletos, and had been condemned with him, and who were, therefore, in this case, acting as judges in their own cause. Is it possible, one wonders, for any set of ecclesiastical lawyers to draw up an instrument in which another set can find no flaw?

For a year no further events took place, save that Meletios—who had gone to America and was then doing good work there—was tried for usurpation *in absentia*, and condemned to "degradation and confinement in a monastery." This act was irregular in several different ways.

In December, 1921, however, there was a development of a rather startling order, for Meletios was himself elected to the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople. We need not enter here into the tangled question of the rights and wrongs of that election. It must suffice to say that political changes had made it impossible to carry out a really unimpeachable election under old laws made for vanished conditions. The election was regarded as doubtful for some time, and the sees of Alexandria and Jerusalem, as well as that of Athens, withheld all recognition. Antioch, and the autocephalous Churches of Serbia and Rumania, recognised the Patriarch, however, and ere long even bigger troubles, and the appreciation that none could refuse to Meletios' bearing in them, overcame doubts, and the election was recognised as *de facto* valid.

Meantime, the fact that the man had accepted, even if improperly, election to another see, could fairly be held as equivalent to the dropping of his protest against his own personal deposition from that of Athens. This, however, did not imply that his party recognised Theokletos as a lawful Metropolitan.

So the position remained until the autumn of 1922, when the revolution in Greece brought the question of the office of Metropolitan once more to the front. Theokletos and his synod had, in the meantime, reversed their degradation of Meletios, and recognised him as Patriarch—a somewhat tardy act of courtesy which the Patriarch did not honour with a reply. At home, however, the revolutionary (Venezelist) government had not forgotten the anathema on the leader of their party, and as soon as they found themselves in power they requested Theokletos to resign, holding that his continuance in office made proper relations with Constantinople impossible. The Bishop was now an old man—he became Metropolitan of Athens in 1904, and was elderly then—and was in feeble health; hitherto, he had not given much evidence of any strength of character, and when offered honorary dignity and a full pension, all expected that he would accept the suggestion. To the surprise of all parties, he gave evidence of possessing a backbone that nobody had credited him with owning, and refused the terms at once. Naturally the quidnuncs of Athens—and their name is legion—were set babbling by this, murmuring, "If *he* dares to defy the government, surely he must have strong backing," etc., etc.

The government, revolutionary though it avowedly was, yet acted quietly. The Metropolitan was indeed declared suspended "from action and office," but authority was careful to explain that it held itself capable of doing this, because his restoration after synodical suspension was a purely governmental act. As regards his removal from his post they would act constitutionally. It was a somewhat curious contrast to British methods. In matters of State we usually act by law, but it is amazingly difficult to get the average Englishman (the Scot is a clearer thinker) to grasp the idea that a Church that is by law established can yet have a rule, a government, a life,

that is not that of the State. With the Greek (whose Church was his sole political expression for so long), arbitrary conduct in the secular government is almost *de rigueur*, but the Church's law must be observed.

So we had the strange spectacle of a revolutionary government, which had not shrunk from high-handed action in other respects, yet walking very delicately when it was a question of removing a recalcitrant ecclesiastic, who was a *quantité négligeable* as far as personal force of character was concerned.

A synod of Bishops was called in February, 1923, officially to re-examine the case of certain Bishops (including the Metropolitan), who had been synodically deposed in 1917, and had been since irregularly replaced in their sees. Actually, so many folk were concerned, and general peace was so desirable, that everyone felt that the real work of the synod was to put the amnesty that everyone felt to be needful into due ecclesiastical form.

Thus, all the Bishops who had acted with Theokletos were recognised in their office, and continued in their sees. The only exception to that rule was the Metropolitan himself, whose office had made him what his character did not imply—the head and front of the offending. The poor old man had few supporters, for even his friends felt that, if a scapegoat was needful, he was marked out for the rôle! He was worn out physically, and his retirement was a necessity for a Church that had to face new problems.

"Retired" he accordingly was, compulsorily, by the synod: still, matters were made as easy as possible for him by the granting of the terms that he had once refused, but which the government were willing to renew. He was recognised as a Bishop, and liberally pensioned, but was called on to withdraw from his post, and leave it to be filled by one whom all could respect. The old man gave no formal consent, but did acquiesce, grudgingly, complaining that his own friends had deserted him, and the synod felt able to proceed to a new election.

There were three possible names on the list, *viz.*, the Metropolitans of Jannina and of Demetrius (*i.e.*, Volo) and Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Professor of Theology at the Rizarion College in Athens, where most of the clergy receive their education.

For some time the election hung in the balance, for many supported Karevangelis of Jannina. This prelate is certainly one of "fortune's step-children," for as Bishop of Amasia he was also *proxime accessit* in the election of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Finally, a decided majority of the electoral body inclined to the last of the three names, but, before Papadopoulos could be elected, a charge of unsoundness in theology had to be considered. The accusation has an odd ring to an Anglican, for it was this: that the professor had taught that the physical cause of the death of Our Lord on the Cross might possibly be syncope, or some form of heart disease. The theory would seem possible, and the question at least open, to most Englishmen, but the suggestion gave a shock to conservative feeling in Greece. However, the objection was overruled, and on Saturday, March 10th (the New Style is now compulsory in Greece), Chrysostom Papadopoulos was duly consecrated and enthroned in the Cathedral at Athens.

The new Metropolitan is a man of more varied experience than the general run of Greek ecclesiastics, and is not likely to find that fact a disadvantage in his new office. He has studied, and acted as professor, at Jerusalem, Kieff and Constantinople, as well as at Athens, and has command of French and English as well as Greek. As he is now in the fifty-sixth year of his age, he may hope for strength to perform the duties of his office for some time.

His consecration was carried out with all the dignity of Orthodox Church ceremony, and presented some unusual features, in that it is a good many years since a Metropolitan of Athens has been consecrated to his office in his own Cathedral. As in England, the Archbishop is commonly translated from another see, and so is usually merely "enthroned."

The actual procedure was as follows :—A platform was erected in the nave of the Cathedral, immediately in front of the " Bema" and " Eikonostasis," and the three consecrating prelates took their seats thereon. They were the Bishops of Trikka, Naupactia, and Syros. At the conclusion of the office of the " Orthron " (corresponding to the English Mattins) the Metropolitan elect, vested in an alb and bareheaded, was presented to the consecrators by the members of the electoral synod, and at their demand made his profession of faith, reciting the Nicene Creed, and declaring his adherence to the decrees of the seven Œcumenical Councils. He was then greeted with the kiss of brotherhood by his new colleagues, and withdrew to the sanctuary, while the Liturgy (that of St. Chrysostom) was commenced. The actual rite of consecration is inserted into the Liturgy (as in the West), at the reading of the Gospel, and the solemn imposition of hands took place before the altar, the " Holy Doors " being opened, to allow as many as possible to see the actual rite. After consecration, the new Metropolitan was led out to the " Bema," and presented to the people as their lawful Bishop, and solemnly vested with the full episcopal habit, amid loud and repeated shouts of " Axios, Axios " (He is worthy ") from the crowded congregation. The Archbishop then proceeded himself to his throne and enthroned himself—as Metropolitan, he enthrones his suffragans, but no suffragan can enthrone him—and delivered his allocution to the people. The Liturgy then proceeded as usual.

One point, on which His Grace laid stress in his allocution—and the fact impressed all his hearers—was the statement that the Church, as such, has no politics. Such a declaration is of good omen for the episcopate now begun with a wish that old quarrels may receive decent burial, and it will certainly be the hope of all Englishmen that the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens may be enabled to use the great influence of the Church in Greece, so as to assist in securing the unity of national life, that can bear the nation safely through its present troubles.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

## CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER.

ON the Greek Easter Day, the Œcumenical Patriarch invested the Rev. R. F. Borough, of the Crimean Memorial Church, with a pectoral cross, in recognition of his work for the union of the Greek and Anglican Churches. After the cross had been placed around his neck, and he had kissed His Holiness's hand, Mr. Borough said that it carried him back to the days of the Patriarch Joakim, who had had a special eikon of St. George painted for him as " Doron Patriarchikon " ; but that, much as he loved and admired that great man, he felt that a greater than he now filled the chair of St. Chrysostom, and that he appreciated the present gift more highly still, because it was of greater personal value to him.

This is the second case of the investiture of an Anglican priest with such a cross, the Serbian Patriarch having given one to Mr. Fynes-Clinton. There is a singular fitness in this, as these two men were the very first to join in founding the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union. Mr. Fynes-Clinton stays in London, while Mr. Borough made the venture of settling abroad. Mr. Douglas joined the A. & E.A. six months later.

## SERBIAN LETTER.

THE Serbian Church is still busy with problems resulting from the unification of the five autocephalous Churches which followed the war, as also with questions such as the second marriage of priests.

In 1920 many widowed priests married a second time without authority. The general public sympathised with them, but the Bishops' Council in 1921, after a

canonical trial deposed them unless they immediately left their wives and submitted to a "purgatorial epithimia" of a monastic kind. Many refused and were deposed. At the present moment the question is not burning, partly because of the presence of a great number of Russian bishops who strongly influence the higher Serbian authorities, and partly because the material position of the clergy is now being discussed by the State and naturally attracts the chief interest. Nevertheless, the Priests' Association has again recently repeated its fixed intention to secure the solution of the question favourably, while the Metropolitan who brought the *tomos* of the recognition of our Patriarchate expressed himself astonished that the Serbian Church had not yet allowed her widowed clergy to marry, though the Œcumenical Patriarchate has expressed its assent to such marriages *pro hac vice*. The great difficulty is the fear of schism through some other Church objecting.

In Serbia the great war has had the effect of counteracting the indifference of our *intelligentsia*. It has changed their *Weltanschauung*. It is true, about fifty Communists have got into our "skupshtina," but we have also a splendid party of Bogomolytzi (God's Partisans). These are chiefly from the peasants. The movement is spreading widely over all Serbian territory. They would remind you of the English Puritans in their great love for the word of Scripture, but they are passionately devoted to the Orthodox Church, and will hear nothing of separation from her. They chose Bishop Nicolai of Ochrida as their Vodya (guide) in 1921, but he declined to act. They have over fifty thousand registered members.

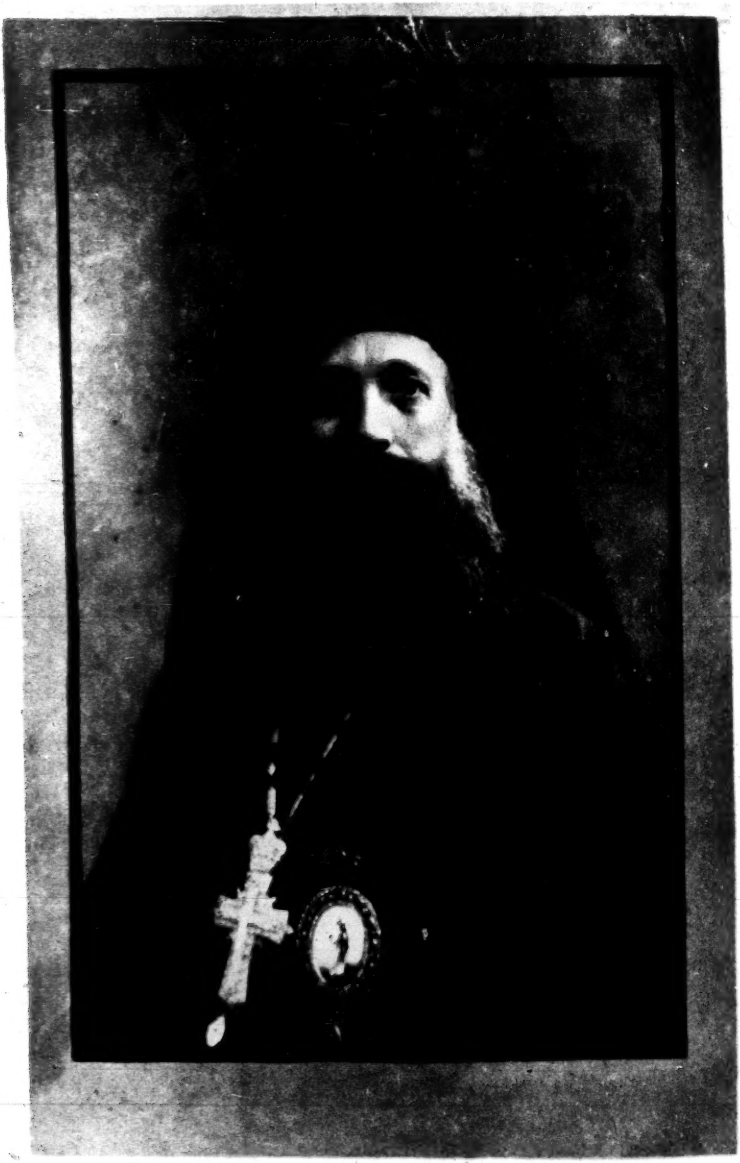
Besides these there are the Adventists, who are schismatic, and are very active. They are the Seventh-Day Adventist type, small in number, and complain bitterly that they are not persecuted. The State has officially recognised them as a religious body, and they do not like it.

In regard to the relation of the Serbian Church and State, we are still engaged in difficulties. For example, some of the five united Churches wish to preserve a measure of autonomy and difference from the rest. Again, our priests are very disappointed that, in the new relations between Church and State, the State is not to pay their salaries. But the best of them see that it would be better that it should not do so . . .

The Encyclical of the Patriarch Meletios upon Anglican Orders has given many of us profound satisfaction. The question has already been discussed at the *plenum* of our Bishops' Council. The decision is likely to be made this summer. . . .

Finally, it may be noted that there is a great activity among the Serbian "younger generation" of theological students and teachers, who were almost all educated at Oxford. They are stimulating the religion of the country and the result is most marked. They edit the best Church monthly magazine, *Christyanski Zhivot* (The Christian Life), and have printed more books in one year than all the rest together. For this we thank our Anglican teachers.

G. D. MARITCH.



+ Ὁ Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσόστομος

CHRYSOSTOM, METROPOLITAN OF ATHENS
AND ARCHBISHOP OF GREECE.

(See p. 119).